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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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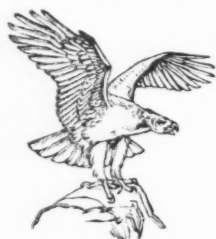
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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1911.

SENECA TRAGOEDVS AGAIN.

AFTER Mr. Stuart (*C.Q.* v. 1) and Mr. Hardie (*ib.* v. 2) I ought to be shy of speaking upon the Tragedies of Seneca. But Mr. Stuart and Mr. Hardie have stirred the dust that lay upon notes which I have had by me for some four years: and their papers encourage the hope that there is among English scholars some revival of interest in Seneca. I am afraid that I myself read Seneca for pleasure, with admiration for the justness of his moral sentiments and with affection for his style. Yet I can hardly be blind to the opportunities which his text offers to those who practice the art of critical divination. No one who glances through the *Apparatus* to Leo's edition can fail to be astonished at the number of obvious emendations which Leo himself, after so many centuries, was the first to make; and no one who knows Leo will suppose that he has left nothing for subsequent critics to do. Seneca has, in fact, always been carelessly read. Unless I am very much deceived, I have been able at *Herc. Oet.* 1185 to give an entirely new sense to a perplexed passage merely by correcting a misprint. See below, p. 211.

I begin with the *Hercules Oetaeus*, the longest of our plays and the one where I have most suggestions to offer.

I.

HERCVLES OETAEVVS.

503-4.

transire Nessus uerticem solitus uagus
pretium poposcit

uagus *E*: uagum *A*.

Editors are content to receive from the Renaissance MSS. *uadis* for *uagus*, without further change. But compare, first, Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 8. 299: *fluvium in quo Nessus commeantes transuehebat*; and, secondly, Diodorus, 4. 36 (Vogel): κατέλαβε Νέσσον τὸν Κένταυρον μισθοῦ διαβιβάζοντα τὸν ποταμόν. οὗτος δὲ πρῶτην διαβιβάσας τὴν Δηιάνειραν, κ.τ.λ., and write

transi<ce>re Nessus uerticem solitus uagos.

574-5.

sed iecur fors horridum
flectam merendo.

Surely *torridum*. Herculis iecur ardet, torretur, amore Ioles.

697-9.

transit tutos Fortuna sinus
medioque rates quaerit in alto,
quarum feriunt sipara nubes.

If *sinus* in 697 means, as it surely must, not 'bays' 'harbours,' but 'sails,' (cf. Sil. Ital. 7. 241-4 *fortunae Libys incumbit flatuque secundo fudit agens puppim, dum desinat aura sinusque destituat tumidos subducto flamine uentus*), then *cautos* for *tutos* in 697 seems a necessary change.

903-5.

Hic ipse Megaram nempe confixam suis
strauit sagittis atque natorum indolem
Lernaea fugiens tela furibunda manu.

The use of *indolem* in 904 is peculiar, and we should compare *Thyest.* 492-3.

et ipsum et una generis inuisi *indolem*
iunctam parenti cerno.

Festus explains *indoles* as = *incrementum*: and the *C.G.L.L.* constantly gives *incrementum* and *progenies* as equivalents for *indoles* (e.g. IV. 91, 248, 528: V. 504). It looks, therefore, as though Seneca in these two passages had put *indolem* for *subolem*—a usage not remarked in the Lexicons.

929-30.

quicumque misero forte dissuadet mori
crudelis ille est.

forte seems intolerably weak. I suspect that the true reading is *sponte* (*sponte mori* together, of course: for this separation cf. *Troad.* 573 *coacta dices sponte quod fari abnuis*).

997-9.

ita nulla perages iussa nec franges mala
erres per orbem si qua nascetur fera
referes parentem: dexteram intrepidam para.

997. peragas A: franges] peragens A. 998. om. E. 999. referas A.

Compare 1327-1331.

ita nulla saeuas terra concipiat feras
post me sepultum, nec meas unquam manus
imploret orbis, si qua nascetur fera (nascentur mala E)
nascatur ultor: undique infelix caput
mactate saxis

and write

ita nulla peragas iussa nec frangens mala
[erres per orbem si qua nascetur fera]
referas parentem, dexteram intrepidam para.

—i.e. as you hope never to have to perform the toils of your father, slay me.
998 is pretty obviously an interpolation modelled on 1329. It is omitted
by *E*: and it is significant that at 1329 *E* does not offer *nascetur fera*.

1003-4.

quaenam ista torquens angue uipereo comam
temporibus atras (hastas *E*) squalidis pinnas quatit ?

In 1003 Peiper's *uibrato* for *uipereo* (cf. *H. F.* 789) is probably right. In
1004 I would propose

sulpuribus atras (*or* *ustas*) squalidis pinus quatit ?

which suits with the line following,

quid me *flagranti*, Dira, persequeris *face* ?

1012-13.

hic ecce patiens dira Tisiphone stetit :
causam reposit. parce uerberibus, precor.

For *patiens* (*E*) in 1012 editors accept the *pallens* of *A*. But at 1475 *E* has
patiens for *quatiens*. Read here, therefore,

hic ecce quatiens lora *e. q. s.*

quatiens lora is caught up by *parce uerberibus* in 1013. *dira* for *lora* is due
to *dira* in 1005, 1007.

1029-1030.

urget hinc illinc scelus.
inhibenda tamen est. pergam (uerum *E*) et eripiam scelus.

scelus in 1030, repeated accidentally from 1029, has perhaps expelled some
such word as *neci*. Read

pergam et eripiam *neci*.

E's *uerum* came from 1031.

1183-6.

si nimis, superi, fuit,
Scythico sub axe genita domuisset meas
uires Amazon. feminae cuius manu
Iunonis hostis uincor ?

In 1185 I have written *cuius* for the meaningless *cuius* of the MSS. (For
the phrase *cuius femina* see the Lexicons s.v. *cuius*.) The change can hardly be
called a conjecture, for the correction might very well have been made by a
proof-reader.

1523-4.

quique sub plaustro patiuntur ursae,
quique feruentem patiuntur axem.

For *patiuntur* in 1523 read *glaciantur* (neglecting *E*'s clumsy attempt [*feruenti quatiuntur axe*] to correct 1524): cf. Lucan V. 22-3: *nam uel Hyperboreae plastrum glaciale sub Ursae uel plaga qua feruens claususque uaporibus axis.*

1558-60.

Aeacos inter geminosque Cretas
facta discernes. Miseris, tyranni,
parcite, audaces inhibete dexteras.

1559. *discernes A*: *discernens E*; *miseris scripsi*: *feri A*: *feriens E*. 1560. *audaces scripsi*: *o duces E*: *o dites A*.

1636.

nullique priscum profuit luco nemus.

For *nemus* Koetschau writes *decus*, which Richter accepts. Perhaps *priscus* . . . *metus*. It is unlikely that *decus*—*nemus* should be confused both here and at 1641.

1833-4.

non est gemendus nec graui urgendus nece
uirtute quisquis abstulit fatis iter.

In 1833 the elided iambus is intolerable. See my note in *C.Q.* 1910, pp. 121-2, where this passage had escaped me. If we suppose an original

non est gemendus nec nece urgendus graui

it is easy to see how *nece*, lost after *nec*, could come to be placed at the end of the line. But *nece* is itself a corruption, as Peerlkamp saw, of *prece*, and we should write

non est gemendus nec prece urgendus graui.

1883-4.

flete Herculeos, Arcades, obitus
nondum Phoebe nascente genus.

Despite 186 (where, perhaps, *facite, o superi*) the metre of 1883 is not tolerable. In addition *Arcades nondum Phoebe nascente genus* is not Latin for "*Ἀρκαδὲς προσέληνοι*": a perfect participle passive is wanted with *genus*. Read

flete Herculeos obitus, natum
nondum Phoebe nascente genus.

Arcades is a mere gloss which has crept into the text.

1978-9.

fallor an uultus putat
uidisse natum?

Perhaps *putem* . . . *nati*?

II.

HERCVLES FVRENS.

83.

sublimis alias luna concipiat feras.

Mr. Hardie believes himself to have rediscovered the true explanation of this line. 'Recent editors' have, he thinks, forgotten that 'the Nemean Lion came from the moon.' No one would be likely to have forgotten it who had read Meineke's *Analecta* and knew Meineke's clever and certain correction μήνης (μνήμης codd.) παῖδα χάριον in *Fragm.* xlvii. of Euphorion. Most of the passages bearing on this legend are given in Meineke, pp. 80-87 (some of the references are false, however), and a few more are added by Mueller *Fragm. Hist.* ii. p. 30 b. (The legend is first found, perhaps, in Herodorus; for the verses of 'Epimenides' in Aelian *H.A.* 12. 7 are scarcely as old as Epimenides—or as Herodorus.) I would remark that the Nemean Lion was not the only fierce beast that came from the moon. The author of the *Laus Herculis* (Claudian, *Appendix*, Koch p. 297) derives thence also the Cretan Bull—*Taurus medio nam sidere lunae progenitus* (120). Herodorus held that vultures had their birth in the moon (Arist. *H.A.* 6. 5; 9. 12). And Lactantius Placidus on *Theb.* ii. 58 regards the moon as the birthplace of all gigantic creatures: *haec* (sc. luna) *autem omnia corpora maiora gignit utpote quae uicina sit caelo, poetae denique omnes asserunt Leonem de his polis ortum, quem Hercules prostravit.*

Lactantius' *utpote quae caelo uicina sit* gives us at once the point of Seneca's (?) *sublimis*. The coincidence is clearly not accidental for Herodorus *Fragm.* 9 (Mueller, *l.c.*) has γῆν ἄνω κηρύττουσι κατελθούσθαι τ' ἀπ' ἀντῆς λέοντα τὸν ὕφ' Ἡρακλέους φονευσθέντα (*quem Hercules prostravit* Lactantius); and again *Fragm.* 10 he says of his lunar vultures that they came ἀπό τινος ἐτέρας . . . μετεώρου γῆς.

For the process denoted by *concupiat* cf. Plut. *de Fluv.* 4.

Seneca's (?) *feras*=*leones* is a Graecism. *Fera*=θήρ, and ὁ λέων θῆρ κατ' ἐξοχὴν πάντων (Schol. *Arat.* 35, p. 348 Maass).

We have, then, explained 83. But it is one thing to explain the line and another to show its genuineness. Mr. Hardie seems to me to confuse these two processes. Because the legend of the Lion's lunar origin was more familiar in antiquity than it is to 'recent editors,' it does not follow, as Mr. Hardie seems to think, that it could not have been employed by an interpolator. I think this line an interpolation for the reason that it makes nonsense of the context in which it stands. At 77 Juno has said plainly *discedant ferae*—'let us have done with Nemean lions.' In 78 she says, 'Let us have done with Eurystheus too.' In 79-82 she says that she will employ worthier instruments—namely, the Titans imprisoned under Aetna. Observe now the effect of 83 which follows: 'Well, it must be Nemean lions again after all!' This is anti-climax with a vengeance. These Nemean lions look 'very like a

whale'; and it seems not unlikely that they have come from *Herc. Oet.* 1327 *ita nulla saeuas terra concipiat feras.*

It is worth noting that a whole family of MSS. (designated by Richter A^r) omits 83-89. Yet 83 undoubtedly stood in some ancestor of this family; for the omission is to be explained by the fact that 83 ends with *feras*, 90 with *ferox*.

353.

ars prima regni †posse inuidiam pati.

In a copy of Leo's edition of the Plays, which once belonged to Kiessling and contains a few MS. notes which I take to be in Kiessling's hand, I find *noscere* conjectured for *posse*. This is, I think, the true correction, and it is at any rate superior to any other suggestion. For this use of *noscere* compare *Herc. Oet.* 228, where the sentiment is somewhat similar

felix quisquis nouit famulum
regemque pati
uultusque suos uariare potest.

875-6.

Thebis laeta dies adest.
aras tangite supplices.

To cling to the altars in supplication is a queer way of passing a *laeta dies*.
Read in 876

aras tingite supplicis.

supplicis = *uictimis*: see 899 *caesisque meritis uictimis aras colam*. The form *supplicis* = *suppliciis* is found again at *Med.* 743, 1015, *Oed.* 944. Similar contractions are collected by Lachmann at *Lucr.* 5. 85. See also Friedrich, Catullus, 64, 287.

1072.

[Somne] pater o rerum, portus uitae.

Richter rightly rejects Wilamowitz's specious *pax errorum*. Sleep is the *beginning* and end of things. Out of sleep they came: and sleep is called the father of them. At *Lucan* IV. 190-191,

O rerum mixtique salus concordia mundi
et sacer orbis amor,

is not the true reading, on the analogy of this passage, *et pater orbis amor*? (At *Lucan* V. 73 N. (*saec.* IV.) has *pater* for *sacer*. *Avienus Arat.* 21 *pater A*: *sacer V*¹ *dett.*)

1119-20.

stipesque potens
duris oneret pectora nodis.

laceret Leo, for *oneret*. Rather *inaret*.

III.

TROADES.

627-629.

ite, ite celeres, fraude materna abditum
hostem, Pelasgi nominis pestem ultimam,
ubicunque latitat, erutam in medium date.

In 629 we should surely alter to *erutum*. *Pelasgi nominis pestem ultimam* is inserted merely parenthetically.

768-770.

genitricis o spes uana, cui demens ego
laudes parentis bellicas, annos aui
melius precabar.

770 *melius scripsi*: *medios codd.*: *demens Richter*. She was *demens* when she prayed that he might be a great warrior, but that he might grow old was a prayer that had more sense in it (*melius*).

999-1000.

sed en citato Pyrrhus accurrit gradu
uultuque toruo.

malim toruos(-us).

1051-3.

Troia qua tiacet regione monstrans
dicet, et longe digito notabit,
'Ilium est illic.'

1051 *iacet*: *paret* Peiper: *flagrat* Richter. Read *lucet*.

1075-6.

haec nota quondam turris et muri decus
nunc saeua cautes.

Leo writes *sola* for *saeua*, complaining that *saeua* is '*inepte additum epitheton*' and '*Caucasi rupibus aptum*.' This is because he has not seen the meaning of *nunc*. The tower was once *muri decus*, but now, *since it has slain Astyanax*, it is *saeua*, 'murderous, bloody, full of blame.'

1169.

ubi hanc anilis expuam leti moram?

No one seems to have conjectured *exuam*. *spiritum expuere Thyest.* 245 is not parallel, nor even *uitam expuere Herc. Oet.* 1469 (if that line be genuine). For *exuere moram* cf. Petr. § 122, 141-142 *exuit omnes quippe moras Caesar*.

IV.

PHOENISSAE.

365-6.

fecit scelus, sed misera non ultra suum

{	sceleri occurrit	}
{	scelus hoc cucurrit.	}

Read

felix, scelus si misera non ultra suum
sceleri occucurrit.

felix, as *felix* Agaue in 362. *si* : *siquidem*, εἴπερ.

V.

MEDEA.

112.

excute solemnem digitis marcentibus ignem.

Statius *Silu.* i. 2. 5 seems to imitate this line—*quatiuntque nouena | lampade solemnem thalamis coeuntibus ignem*. Is it possible that Statius then wrote *palms marcentibus*? For *marcentibus* in connection with hymeneals cf. Dracontius *Epithalamium* 19 (*marcidus*).

135-6.

at nullum scelus

irata feci. saeuit infelix amor.

suasit for *saeuit* Peiper: *mouit* Leo. Perhaps *fecit*. Cf. Eur. *Rhesus* 939-940 σὺ τοῦτ' Ἀθήνη, — οὐδὲν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐδ' ὁ Τυδέωσ τόκος ἔδρασ', — ἔδρασας (ἔδρασε δράσας *codd.*).

740-743.

comprecor uulgus silentum uosque ferales deos
et chaos caecum atque opacam Ditis umbrosi domum
Tartari ripis ligatos squalidae Mortis specus
supplicis, animae, remissis currite ad thalamos nouos.

ligatos is commonly rendered by 'adjacent to': cf. L. & S. s.u. 'Confined by,' 'bounded by' would be possible; so Statius *Silu.* iv. 3. 75 has *ligare* of the channel which confines a river; but a cave 'bounded by' banks is meaningless. Yet no suggested correction seems even plausible. I fancy that the key to a true correction may be found at *Herc. Fur.* 664 sqq.

. . . densis ubi aequor *Taenarus* siluis premit:
hic ora soluit *Ditis inuisi domus*,
hiatque *rupes* alta et immenso *specu*
ingens uorago faucibus uastis patet.

It is difficult, with this passage before one, not to think that Seneca wrote at 742 *Taenari rupi ligatos squalidae mortis specus*, 'the caverns of squalid death that are locked by the rock of Taenarus.'

921-922.

quidquid ex illo, tuum est,
Creusa, peperit.

peperi *scripsi*: peperit *codd.* 'Whatsoever child I bore him belongs to you, Creusa.' cf. 924. *liberi quondam mei.*

VI.

PHAEDRA.

276.

impotens flammis simul et sagittis.

Read impetens.

497-8.

nec trabes multo insolens
suffulcit auro.

suffulcit *scripsi*: sufficit, *E* suffigit *A.* So *effulcire* at Stat. *Theb.* i. 144-6:

et nondum crasso laquearia fulua metallo
montibus aut alte Graeis *effulta* nitebant
atria.

989B-990.

sed quid citato nuntius portat gradu
rigatque maestis lugubrem uultum genis?

Leo alters *portat* to *properat*, and since he is followed in this by Richter it seems worth while to adduce *Oct.* 778-9:

sed quis gressu ruit attonito
aut quid *portat* pectore anhelo?

and *Herc. Oct.* 740-1.

natum pauentem cerno et ardenti pede
gressus ferentem. prome quid *portes* noui.

portare is similarly used for *reportare*, *narrare*, at Stat. *Theb.* 3. 236. *portans* immania Tydeus ausa.

VII.

OEDIPVS.

1-2.

iam nocte Titan dubius expulsa redit
et nube maestum squalida exoritur iubar.

exoritur is a blunder for *exerit*, and no other change is needed.

341.

iuuena ferro semet imposito induit.

Read *ferro iuuenus*: cf. 300 and 335. (Leo's *depressam* at 300 leaves the difficulty of *taurorum* in 335 untouched.)

508.

altaque caeruleum dum Nerea nesciet Arctos.

malim utraque.

VIII.

AGAMEMNON.

659.

cohibete lacrimas omne quas tempus petet.

Perhaps omne quis tempus patet. Cf. *Med.* 422-3 non queror tempus breue: multum patebit.

759-60.

instant sorores squalidae,
sanguinea iactant uerbera.

Heinsius' *anguinea* is surely right. Cf. *Thyest.* 96, *Med.* 961.

IX.

THYESTES.

110-111.

†palescit omnis arbor ac nudus stetit
fugiente pomo ramus.†

The last two words represent, I fancy, *ponto remus*. But the first three seem past healing. *arescit omne marmor* might do.

423-4.

quid, anime, pendes, quidue consilium diu
tam facile torques?

consilium diu is not Latin for 'a plan long entertained,' though editors seem content with it. Read *consultum diu*, as *bene cogitata* 490, *iam placita Troad.* 246.

815-820.

stupet Eoos
assueta deo tradere frenos
genetrix primae roscida lucis
peruersa sui limina regni:
nescit fessos
tinguere currus nec fumantes
sudore iubas mergere ponto.

The last three lines suggest that in 818 *limina* is a blunder for *munera* (= *mun'a*) 'duties,' 'functions.'

X.

OCTAVIA.

85.

uince obsequio placata uirum

placata seems inapposite. Read *placaque*.

853.

abstrahere nostris coniugem $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fata} \\ \text{caram} \\ \text{tantam} \end{array} \right\}$ toris.

N's *fata* points perhaps to *fetam*.

H. W. GARROD.

MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

THE FIRST SCENE OF THE *SUPPLIANTS* OF AESCHYLUS.

To explain the meaning of the *Prometheus* the late Dr. Walter Headlam quoted the famous lines from the *Agamemnon* :

'Sing praise ; 'Tis he hath guided, say,
Man's feet in Wisdom's way,
Stablishing fast for learning's rule
That Suffering be her school. . . .'

'This,' he said, 'is the school in which Prometheus himself is being gradually taught the wise humility ; at present he is still in the rebellious stage. And it is with this idea that Io is introduced into the *Prometheus Bound* ; she, too, is an example of the seeming cruelty of Zeus ; but it is a blessing in disguise, for she is to be the mother of the blessed Epaphus, and it is a son of Zeus by Alcmena, a descendant of her own, that is to set Prometheus free.'

That sentence suggested the present paper. For the artistic and religious meaning of the *Suppliants* becomes clear only when, with the thought of Wisdom's school in our minds, we read the words of the chorus (ll. 103 sqq.) :

'From towering Hope's ambitious height
Down to Perdition's blackest pit
He hurls the aspiring thoughts of Man,
Yet stirs not, yet exerts no force :
Calm in his will's enabled might
His throned imaginations sit,
And see the World's harmonious Plan
Move onward in its ordered course.'

The keynote of the trilogy to which the *Suppliants* belonged was, in fact, this same central doctrine of the *Prometheus* and the *Oresteia*, the will of Zeus which brings harmony out of chaos, good out of apparently unmeaning suffering.

Whether the *Suppliants* be the second, or as is now generally and, I believe, rightly supposed the first part of a trilogy, it is admitted that in the sequel the daughters of Danaus (probably through the defeat of the Argives) fall into the hands of their cousins, marry them, and at the command of Danaus kill them on the marriage night ; that Hypermnestra, *una de multis face*

nuptiali digna, spares her husband, is tried before an Argive court for her act of loyal disobedience, and is acquitted through the intervention of Aphrodite. But the importance of this sequel for the interpretation of the *Suppliants* is not perhaps always clearly understood.

If our account of the sequel is true, it follows that Hypermnestra is the heroine of the trilogy. In the *Suppliants* she is in no way distinguished from the rest of her family; she is simply one of the fifty daughters of Danaus. Her presence in the chorus is, however, not unimportant for the understanding of the play. Though she is not yet differentiated, though she does not yet speak and act for herself, still for the audience she is the heroine whose story is being presented: for them the company of Suppliant girls is significant because one of the Suppliants is above all the rest famous for her deeds and glorified in her offspring. We also must remember her; for we shall not understand the first act of the trilogy unless we remember the central person and the main idea of the whole.

It may be said that Orestes, whose killing of his mother is the central theme of the *Oresteia*, has no place in the *Agamemnon*. Yet even that is not wholly true. The chorus speak of the avenger who will some day come. Their proclamation of the doctrine of divine retribution points not only to Paris, Priam, Troy, not only to Agamemnon, but also to Clytaemnestra, and through her to Orestes. Their hints of the terrible powers that ruled the world before Zeus point to the conflict of the *Eumenides*. Above all, when we read the *Agamemnon* in connection with the *Choephoroe*, we find that Clytaemnestra is elaborately contrasted with Orestes, who is, we must not forget, traditionally the most important figure of the legend. She kills for her own ends, rejoicing: Orestes kills for duty's sake, reluctantly, not even, at the supreme crisis, without some tenderness for his mother. She kills with Agamemnon the priestess of Apollo: Orestes is the minister of the god. Through the palace gates through which she entices her husband, Orestes drives her in to death. Where she stood in triumph, heaping insult on the dead, Orestes stands to justify his deed. Clytaemnestra herself, then, would be less significant, did not Orestes serve as her foil. Thus even the *Agamemnon*, great as it is, requires its sequel. For the *Suppliants*, I believe, the sequel and the central figure of the sequel were even more important.

Hypermnestra was probably not a romantic heroine, in love with her so strangely wedded husband. 'I never put on the stage a woman in love,' says the Aristophanic Aeschylus in a boast which we are of course at liberty to reject. What matters for us is the motive assigned to Hypermnestra by Prometheus (891): 'One wife will spare her husband: the edge of her purpose will be blunted: she will be spell-bound by desire of offspring: she will choose the name of coward, not of murderess, and in Argos shall be the mother of a Royal Race'—

μίαν δὲ παίδων ἕμερος θέλξει τὸ μὴ
κτείνειν σύνευνον, ἀλλ' ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται

γνώμην, δυοῖν δὲ θάτερον βουλήσεται,
 κλύειν ἀναλκίς μᾶλλον ἢ μαιφόνος·
 αὕτη κατ' Ἄργος βασιλικὸν τέξει γένος.

That this was also the motive of the *Hypermnestra* of our trilogy is established by the one important fragment of the *Danaids* which we possess. 'Even the venerable Aeschylus in his *Danaids*,' says Athenaeus,¹ 'introduces Aphrodite in person, and makes her say:

"The pure Heaven hath desire to wed the Earth,
 And the Earth is full of the desire of Him.
 His rain showers from Heaven and the womb of Earth
 Is quickened; so the Mother brings forth food
 For the cattle, and Demeter's bread for men.
 Yes, and the rain is a charm to bring young trees
 To perfect growth.—All these are my effects."

The goddess who speaks, like the Venus Genetrix of Lucretius, is not the mistress of passion, but the power through which the world from generation to generation renews its life. *Hypermnestra* whom she thus defends is celebrated, not as a love-sick maiden, but as the reverend mother of the modern Argos, the heroic ancestress of Perseus and Heracles,² constrained by an apparent cruelty of fate—mercy in the guise of violence—to become the worshipped foundress of a Royal House, and, what is more important, of a prosperous city.

Now we can see how, though she nowhere speaks in person, the *Suppliants* is illuminated by the thought of her. We think at once of the two occasions (in the first chorus and the last) when the Suppliant maidens fall into two groups, the one confidently affirming that the will of Zeus is against the marriage, the other vague, though not less firm in their faith, observing the moderation in speech and prayer which befits mortals when they touch on the mysterious designs of God. We think also of the hymn to Aphrodite, which sounds to us so strange after the passionate appeals to the virgin Artemis. But it is not to these particular incidents that I wish to draw attention. The thought of *Hypermnestra* pervades and colours the whole work. The recurrent invocation of Io is dramatically significant, not only because Io is the ancestress of the Suppliants and the justification of their claim to Argive help, but also because Io is the prototype of *Hypermnestra*.

Consider now some modern estimates of this drama. Schlegel, J. H. Schmidt, Bernhardt, K. O. Müller, agreed in deploring its lack of dramatic action, and argued, from their different points of view, that a play so devoid of movement either must have been or could not possibly have been the second part of a trilogy. Welcker indeed came to the rescue with a subtle defence of the character-drawing, and an illuminating exposition of the relation of the *Suppliants* to the rest of the trilogy. But even Welcker, when he came to the charge of 'die geringe dramatische Handlung und den Mangel an Spannung,'

¹ XIII. 600B.

² See a significant passage in Pausanias X. 10. 5.

was content with the remark that 'der Stoff wie er ist einer besseren Gestaltung als dieser im Aeschylishen Styl mir gar nicht fähig scheint.' To most critics, in fact, there seems to be no dramatic interest until the arrival of the Argive king, and very little before the entrance of the herald.

To Croiset, for instance, this tragedy 'made up of complaints and prayers and hesitations and threats, without complication or unforeseen events, seems from the modern point of view hardly to fulfil the conditions of theatrical art.' Paley, as usual, gives a mild approval: 'On the whole,' he says, 'it is rather a good play; and though it has obtained a bad name among scholars on the score of its many corruptions, yet there is a grace and a dignity in the choruses, and a general tenderness, virtue, and artlessness in the characters, that impart a very pleasing tone to the whole composition.' Professor Murray expresses the same idea in language equally characteristic: 'A most quaint and beautiful work, like one of those archaic statues which stand with limbs stiff and countenance smiling and stony.' Finally Professor Tucker, in asserting, I do not doubt correctly, that the chorus may well have been fifty in number, says that the effect must have been spectacular, and so suited 'to the comparatively inartistic nature of the early drama.' The phrase is of course culled from Aristotle, but its meaning becomes clearer when we further read that 'there is no thrilling action in the piece,' that it would have fallen flat as a drama but for the *Menschengeschwimmel*. Again, in his protest against the pedantry which describes the last two hundred and forty lines of the piece as the *exodos*, Professor Tucker speaks of 'the arrival of the Egyptian herald, the attempted seizure of the Danaids, the return of the king, and the herald's dismissal' as comprising 'almost all the real action of the play.' It is pedantic, as Professor Tucker says, to describe so exciting a scene as an *exodos*, but we must be prepared to admit that the earlier dramas of Aeschylus were, indeed, 'inartistic,' if we can find hardly any real action before the last episode of the piece. It is on the chorus, as all these critics have said, that the poetical value of the piece depends, and it is also the chorus, not simply or mainly the dialogue, that provides the dramatic, as well as the poetical, effect. The drama, not simply the lyrical poetry, begins with the first procession of the chorus into the Orchestra.

What, then, is the dramatic point of the first two hundred lines, of the long lyrics and brief dialogue which precede the arrival of the Argive king? If we think of the plot as presenting, in the words of Mr. Murray, 'an appeal for protection to Pelasgus, king of Argos, who refers the question to the Demos,' there is no drama till the king appears. Simply we are introduced to the chorus, we learn their situation, and we have the pleasure of listening to some exquisite lyrics. But to the ancient audience, I believe, the first episode was as dramatic as the rest. Dr. Jevons, in discussing this play, observed that 'the action of a story may be said to consist of the attempt of a central figure to do something, and of the opposition encountered by, and the consequences following on, this effort.' We may accept this as a rough definition, good

enough for our present purpose. In this sense there is dramatic action in the first scene not less than in the final confronting of chorus, herald and king to which Dr. Jevons referred. The drama of the first scene is for us obscured because we do not share the religious beliefs of the Suppliants and of Athenians. If we did, we should see at once that the first necessity of the chorus is to marshal all possible unseen forces on their side: when the Argive king appears they have already won more than half their battle, for they have secured Zeus and the gods of Argos as their allies. This they do partly by the modest bearing which is pleasing to the gods, and partly by prayer.

But when we say that the chorus gain their divine allies by prayer, we admit that their utterance is not merely poetry but also drama. Even in the twentieth century of the Christian era prayer is not always and by all devout persons conceived as the expression, helpful to the worshipper, of spiritual aspiration. Even for modern spectators a praying chorus would not be wholly undramatic; for in spite of all theorizing a modern audience has still an effectual belief in what Plato called *ἡ τῶν θεῶν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων παραγωγή*. Plato, indeed, used this expression with regard to the attempts of guilty men to 'square the gods'; but superstitious persons, and many persons who are not, as men go, superstitious, pray in general as *τοὺς θεοὺς πείθοντές σφισιν ὑπηρετεῖν*. If that is the case to-day, still more was it the case in the time of Aeschylus. Prayer is always hovering on the borderland of magic, and the more clearly it is conceived as a working on, a persuading of the god, the more dramatic becomes its theatrical representation.

In the first scene, then, the Suppliants strive with Zeus, as later they strive with Pelasgus, literally compelling Him to come to their aid. Their words (and, no doubt, their actions) are deliberately calculated to influence the god. Their first words *Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ*, 'Zeus Petitionary,' the *Suppliant God*, not simply the *God of Suppliants*, give a hint, though it is no more than a hint, of the significance of the whole ceremony. As a maiden prays to Artemis as the Maiden,¹ a huntsman to Apollo as a hunter, a thief to Hermes as a thief, so in general a worshipper assimilates the god to himself in order that he may be sympathetic and likely to hear the prayer. I do not, of course, mean to suggest that the idea of fastening their own name of Suppliant upon the god is present to the minds of the chorus when they address him as *ἀφίκτωρ*. My point is rather that the ease with which the same word can be used to denote either the Suppliant or the god illustrates something in the pagan frame of mind, and something which is important for the interpretation of the drama. Gods are made in the image of man, and are therefore the more susceptible to human persuasion. Conversely, let us now add, men try to make themselves like the god or like something that the god loves, in order that the god may be inclined to give them favourable attention. Therefore throughout this drama the daughters of Danaus, persistently and with the deliberate intention of

¹ See Headlam on Aesch. *Sup.* 160 in C.R. Vol. XVI., p. 52, 1902.

working on the feelings of Zeus, identify themselves with Io, towards whom Zeus has peculiar obligations.

This claim upon Zeus which the Suppliants are able to establish through their self-identification with their ancestress Io is one great reason why 'the play is full of the supreme godhead of Zeus,' though, of course, it is a relevant fact that 'in a drama of Suppliants,' as Professor Tucker observes, 'this prominence is especially natural, and in any case it is a marked feature of Aeschylean theology.' Read the first sentences of the opening procession in a translation, and then read them in the Greek; it will appear at once how important it is to be quite clear on this matter. Professor Tucker writes: 'Zeus, the Suppliant's God, look kindly on our company, which took ship from the dunes of finest sand that edge the mouths of Nile. Though we have quit the land of Zeus, whose pastures blend with Syria, yet is our exile no outlawry for deed of blood,' etc. But what they say is *Zeὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι προφρόνως . . . Δῖαν δὲ λιποῦσαι χθόνα*, Zeus look with grace upon us . . . *for the land we have left is the land of Zeus.* That is the first point they make, the first link in the magic chain with which they bind the god. Even Dr. Headlam does not represent the order of the Greek words in his prose translation. Not only is this opening dramatic; the rhetoric [*Zeὺς μὲν . . . Δάναος δέ*] becomes symmetrical if we observe the order of the words: 'Zeus favour us,' they sing, 'because we come from a land that is His,' and then 'Danaus bade us come to Argos, because from Argos we are sprung.'

That brings us at once to Argive Io, with whom the Suppliants identify themselves first by the simple fact of their origin from her. But they can make their identification with her more potent than their simple claim as her children. They are exiles: so was she. When they speak of their voyage they recall to Zeus the wanderings of Io. They are confronted with the prospect of a marriage which they loathe: Io suffered because she was loved by Zeus. Every reference to their own bridal is a reference to that of Io: every word of Io's deliverance is in effect a fresh compelling of Zeus to deliver Io's children. I need hardly insist on the supreme importance, not only poetically but also in the drama, of the recurrent theme of the birth of Epaphus. Zeus delivered Io, so that she bore Epaphus, son of the touch, by the laying on of hands, the touch of the physician, *ἡπίους χερσὶν ἐφαπτόμενος*, a technical use of the word for which see the learned treatise of Ernest Maass. Not only in this opening chorus, but throughout the tragedy, this recurrent motive of Zeus the physician, of his hands that touch to heal, of cures and drugs and medicinal spells, is one of the binding elements in the dramatic symphony. Similarly the inbreathing of the spirit of the god provides a theme dramatic as well as poetical. It is to constrain the god, not simply for the sake of a poetical variation of phrase, that the Suppliants pray, 'May Zeus receive us—not *αἰδοίως*—with the treatment due to Suppliants—but *αἰδοίῳ πνεύματι χώρας*, 'with a wafting of compassion from the land.' So for themselves they invoke

Zeus Ourios; and the sons of Aegyptus they devote to storms and contrary winds.

As the incantation proceeds, rhythm and gesture become more and more excited: they tear their Sidonian veils, not because they are seized by a panic fear, but because their increased emotion means increase of potency. Their strange cry, 'ἰλέομαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν· καρβᾶν' αὐδᾶν εὔ, γᾶ, κοννεῖς,' is part of the spell they weave. Professor Tucker says that 'the εὐακοννεῖς of M, as emended to εὔ, γᾶ, κοννεῖς, is an assertion very flat and scarcely warrantable,' and accordingly he emends—with what palaeographical plausibility I dare not discuss—to something which might perhaps mean what he desires it to mean, 'excuse my foreign accent.' καρβᾶνα δ' ἄν αὐδᾶ σύν, γᾶ, γροίης. Dr. Headlam accepted εὔ, γᾶ, κοννεῖς, and translated 'I implore the grace of hilly Apia (the outlandish utterance well, O land, thou kennest) . . .' adding a note on 'utterance': 'Speech or expression, meaning the epithet βοῦνιν,' which he infers is a local Argive word. He adds the evidence of its use by Dorians—e.g. at Cyrene, Corinth, and elsewhere. Still I cannot but think that the assertion 'the outlandish utterance well, O land, thou kennest,' is, indeed, rather flat if there is nothing more pointed in the context than a rare word meaning 'hilly,' or, as Professor Tucker thinks, a piece of barbarous pronunciation. But listen to the words again: ἰλέομαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν. Whatever the word means in correct and etymological circles, Ἀπίαν in this context and for the Aeschylean audience means one thing above all else—the land of Apis-Epaphus, the son of the healing touch (ἥπιος). Similarly βοῦνιν represents for the audience not 'hilly,' nor a rare Doric word, but simply 'Land of the Cow,' the land of Io. As Paley said: 'It was usual on entering a foreign land to invoke it, with the elements and the θεοὶ ἐγχώριοι, to be propitious.' By propitiating the Argive land under the names of Ἀπίαν and βοῦνιν, the Suppliants establish a claim, and constrain the gods, particularly Zeus, to help them. When this strange cry is uttered the supplication of the maidens has passed completely into the sphere of magic. It is because their utterance is a spell, a magical incantation, that the chorus describes it as 'outlandish.' Similarly in the *Persae* (638), when Darius is being summoned from the grave, the elders describe their incantation as βάρβαρα σαφηνή . . . δύσθροα βάργματα, words whose meaning was explained by Dr. Headlam in the *Classical Review*, Vol. XVI., p. 57, February, 1902. The potency of the appeal to the Argive land as the land of Io and her son is reinforced at line 169 by a fresh appeal to Zeus and a further self-identification of the Suppliants with their ancestress: 'Ah Zeus, 'tis through ire against Io that vengeance pursueth us from above! I ken thy Consort's heaven-subduing spite! for 'tis from a rough gale a stormy sea arises.' When this the last of the half-magical refrains is reached, the chorus have already established their claim upon Zeus as the lover of Io: they can now effectively drive home their last unanswerable threat—namely, that if the Olympians fail them they will kill themselves and descend to 'that nether Zeus, that most hospitable Zeus of the departed.' 'And shall

not Zeus be convicted, then, by just arguments of neglecting the Cow's offspring that himself begat of old, if now he hold his face averted at our prayer?'

The exhortation of the sententious, rather self-important Danaus to a modest bearing is again dramatic in that it advances the action by making the supplication even more effectual. So does every sentence of the litany that follows. Divine aid thus secured the time has come for human allies to be won, and the king of the Argive country appears.

At this point we may notice that this development of the action from the securing of Zeus to the propitiation of all the Olympians, and then from divine aid to human alliance, has something like a parallel in the *Prometheus*. The relevance and importance of Io in that drama as a human victim of the violence of Zeus and as the symbol of the ultimate reconciliation has been often noticed. But it is not always clearly stated how artistic, how carefully prepared, is the moment of her appearance in the action. The suffering Titan, who has been silent under the taunts of Kratos and the pity of Hephaestus, is left alone, deserted by gods and men, on the mountain-side. When at length he breaks his silence, it is to utter his wonderful appeal to the powers of earth and sea and sky. The coming of the Ocean-Nymphs is poetically the response of nature to his cry. The dramatic effect of their songs is first of all that we are made to feel that all Nature is suffering in sympathy with the god. The natural powers having thus been brought into relation with the hero, mankind is introduced into the action: the chorus sing of the weakness of men and of their ineffectual mourning for their saviour. Then, and not till then, comes Io, the representative of the human race, the mortal woman who is to bear a child from whom the deliverer will come. Now as in the *Prometheus* we pass from the sympathy of nature to the sympathy of mankind, so in the *Suppliants* we pass from the marshalling and compulsion of the unseen powers to the compelling of mortal aid.

In motives and treatment there is a certain similarity between the scene of the constraining of Zeus and that of the persuading of the Argive king. All Suppliants have a certain right to consideration: that right the king admits, though he observes that the appearance of the Suppliants is foreign, as is also their strange daring in landing on a foreign coast without the security given by heralds, patrons and guides. But the maidens have a special claim on Argos, and this is the same as their claim on Zeus—their descent from Io and Epaphus: by means of that story they establish at once their Argive origin and their right to Argive protection. But the king hesitates to shed the blood of citizens in war for women, even though they be children of Io. So in a moment of intense excitement for an audience which believed in blood-pollution, the Suppliants threaten to kill themselves at the altar. Thus the final compulsion which they put upon the king is precisely parallel to the last constraint which they put upon Zeus.

But it is to the beginning of this scene that I wish to draw attention. The

king is attended by such pomp that there can be no doubt in the mind of the spectator as to his identity. Yet the chorus ask him whether they shall address him as commoner, or herald, or king, simply in order that he may have a plausible excuse for making a speech. His rhesis is often treated as if it were somewhat irrelevant. It has been said, for example, that 'Aeschylus is teaching the Athenians a historical and geographical lesson.' Though the word lesson has unfortunate associations, it is quite true that Aeschylus and his audience loved rhetoric, and geographical rhetoric, for its own sake. But it is also true that as a rule the rhetoric is so contrived as to contribute to the dramatic effect. In the first part of his harangue the king announces that he is the son of Palaechthon, the earth-born, that his name Pelasgus gives the name Pelasgian to his people, and finally that his territory includes a wider tract of country than the historical Argolis. What is the point of all that? In the first place, it makes the appeal of the Suppliants to the king as representative of his country far more impressive to Athenian hearers, because it makes the king as Pelasgus, son of Palaechthon, stand for the oldest inhabitants of Greece: the appeal is therefore to the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians, as autochthonous, thought themselves descended. In the second place, the wide extent of his territory makes the king stand for more than a narrow Argive interest: the appeal is to Greece and civilization against barbarism. We remember, also, that as Pelasgus is the last king of the old civilization, so Hypermnestra, one of these women whose barbaric aspect so astonishes him, is destined, as the audience are aware, to be the foundress of the modern Argos, the mother of a new line of Argive kings. Finally, whereas Zeus, the object of the action in the first scene, needed for a pious audience no poet's art to make his unseen presence felt as significant, Pelasgus, until he has named himself and has made the importance of his royal person evident by words, is, for the audience, in spite of the visible majesty of his presence, no more than an ordinary king. His speech about his kingdom is necessary if the scene is to escape bathos after the highly-dramatic invocation of Zeus. As for the latter part of the oration, in which Pelasgus speaks of the origin of the name of the Apian land, and tells how 'Apis leech and seer came from Naupactus on the further shore, and purged the land of deadly monsters . . . by surgery and spell,' it is not only a poetical contribution to the symphony of Apis-Epaphus, the son of the healing touch, but also a fine piece of drama. The audience knows, though the king does not, that these Suppliants are the children of another Argive Apis-Epaphus, and they realize, though the king does not, that by these words the king is binding himself, as it were, in advance, to listen favourably to the plea of the Suppliants. We may notice that the Suppliants, like Apis, came to Argos across the sea, and that in the sequel they, when their claim as daughters of Io and Epaphus has been admitted, threaten by their suicide to bring upon the country just such 'plagues sent up by Earth on pollution through deeds of blood,' as were purged by the ancient Apis 'leech and seer.'

I will not further analyze this scene, though there are many phrases which gain new significance if we remember that the spoken word is not merely ominous but also powerful to affect events. In line 355, for example, the chorus compare themselves to a wolf-chased heifer, 'on precipitous rocks, where having found security she lows, telling the herdsman of her trouble.' The expression is deliberately chosen in order to maintain the identification with Io and the mystic heifer whom she bore. Nor have I anything to add as to the rest of the drama, which, except where the text is hopelessly corrupt, explains itself. I will only remark that while the king is pleading their cause before his people, the Suppliants are again invoking Zeus, by the same means as before, but with fresh and beautiful treatment of the old motives.¹ The return of Danaus with the announcement (630) that the Argives have voted their aid, 'It was the persuasive voice of the pleader that they heard, but it was Zeus who brought the issue to accomplishment' (the word *ἐπικραίνειν* is significant throughout the play), is thus a dramatic fulfilment of prayer.

The beautiful litany for the prosperity of Argos which follows this announcement is apparently without effect. For in the sequel it is probable that Argos sustains a defeat. Yet God moves indeed by paths which wind beyond mortal discerning. In Hypermnestra's children, through that very defeat, Argos is in fact to be renewed and blessed.

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¹ Notice incidentally (remembering the surprise of Pelasgus at the appearance of the Suppliants 240 sqq., 283 sqq., and the fears of Danaus on that score 504 sqq.) that in 574 sqq.

βροτοὶ δ' οἱ γὰρ τότε ἦσαν ἔννομοι χλωρῷ δέλματι θυμὸν πάλλοντ' . . . the chorus have still in mind their identification with Io.

ON THE *IURATIO ITALIAE* OF 32 B.C.

'*IURAVIT* in mea uerba tota Italia sponte sua et me belli quo uici ad Actium ducem depoposcit.'¹ In these words the Emperor Augustus clearly meant to suggest that the war in which he got rid of Mark Antony was none of his making, but was imposed upon him by the free and self-determined action of the Italian nation. Modern historians have unanimously refused to regard Augustus as a passive instrument in the hands of the Roman people at large; yet they have generally accepted his account of the oath-taking of 32 B.C. as the outcome of a spontaneous burst of enthusiasm in his behalf, which they interpret as the reflex result of the nation's resentment against Antony's un-Roman and treasonable behaviour.² Mommsen³ and Ferrero⁴ alone appear to have entertained any doubts as to the literal truthfulness of the Emperor's narrative.

It is to be feared that the deference herein shown to Augustus is out of place. The *Monumentum Ancyranum* in which his official autobiography is contained stands convicted of some glaring misrepresentations respecting his early career,⁵ and for the period of the Civil Wars its unsupported testimony should never be accepted as conclusive. In the present case the version of events given in the *Monumentum* is altogether unique, for no other ancient document records any widespread manifestation of loyalty to the future Emperor so long as the issue of the struggle against Antony hung in the balance. It is noteworthy that neither the patriot poets of Augustus' reign nor even so zealous a panegyrist as Velleius Paterculus should have made any allusion to the *iuratio*, which was obviously the best of all testimonies to their hero's popularity.⁶ On the other hand, indications are not lacking that public opinion in Italy was extremely slow to pronounce itself definitely against Antony, and that it viewed the forthcoming struggle with the same misgivings

¹ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ch. 25.

² Ihne, *Römische Geschichte*, VIII. p. 366; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I. p. 127; Gardthausen, *Augustus*, I. p. 364; Kromayer, *Die rechtliche Begründung des Principats*, p. 15.

³ *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I³. pp. 696-7.

⁴ *Greatness and Decline of Rome* (Engl. transl.), IV. p. 84 and n.

⁵ An assertion in ch. 3, 'uictor omnibus superstitibus ciuibz peperci,' is directly refuted by Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, chs. 13, 15, 17, 27. In ch. 1, 'rem publicam factione paucorum

oppressam in libertatem uindicauit' is a highly deceptive way of describing the establishment of the triumvirate.

⁶ The nearest corroborative statement is found in Cassius Dio, 50. 4. §§ 1-3; but here it is merely related that public opinion eventually became incensed against Antony, which is very far from saying that Italy took the initiative in calling Octavian to arms.

The panegyrics showered upon Octavian *after* Actium cannot be safely quoted as evidence for the previous state of feeling in Italy.

which it entertained at the outbreak of the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey.¹ Moreover, the prejudice in Antony's favour which still lingered on in Italy was being stimulated all the while by lavish distributions of money from Alexandria, which compelled Octavian to take special precautions in order to minimise their effect.²

An interesting sidelight is cast upon the general state of feeling in Italy in the latter half of 32 B.C. by the half-measure to which Octavian found himself reduced when he declared war upon Cleopatra, but not upon Antony. This expedient can only be interpreted with Ferrero³ as showing that Octavian did not yet feel sure of his ground. Had public opinion been seriously entertaining the thought that Antony was guilty of high treason to Rome, Octavian need never have hesitated to have his rival declared a *hostis*. Such a sentence had not infrequently been passed on traitors in times not long past, and Antony himself had once before been put under a ban at the instance of Cicero. There should thus have been no difficulty in getting the sentence against Antony renewed. Moreover, such a measure would have been highly profitable to Octavian. For when once Antony had been proclaimed a *hostis*, he would *ipso facto* have ceased to be a *civis*, and Octavian's chief cause of anxiety, the risk of incurring odium as the author of a new civil war, would have been removed once and for all. If Octavian none the less dared not take official action against Antony, the reason must be that public sentiment in Italy was not yet prepared to support Octavian unreservedly. But a still more powerful piece of evidence is afforded by the sequel to the *iuratio*. When Octavian proceeded to test the loyalty of the Italians by imposing war-taxes, rioting broke out on such a scale as to place the country for a while at Antony's mercy.⁴ And the spirit of mistrust which continued to exist between Octavian and his countrymen is shown by the care which he took during the campaign of Actium to keep the whole body of senators directly under his eye. As this measure was adopted to prevent any senator fomenting a new revolt in Italy during Octavian's absence,⁵ it is clear that even in 31 B.C. disaffection against Octavian must still have been widespread.

There remains a further difficulty. Suppose that Italy was indeed unanimous in its feeling of loyalty: by what process could it have translated its sentiment into action? It stands to reason that such uniform action as is

¹ The spirit in which the incriminating stories of Antony's un-Roman conduct were received in Rome is well illustrated in Velleius Paterculus (II. 83. 3), Cassius Dio (50. 2. §§ 3-6), and Plutarch (*Antonius*, ch. 57 *fin.*, 59 *init.*). Particular significance attaches to the memorable sitting of the Senate on January 1, 32, in which the consuls all but carried a motion against Octavian (Cassius Dio, *loc. cit.*), and to the apparently misplaced pity which the Romans felt for Antony on hearing how he had divorced Octavia (Plutarch, ch. 57 *fin.*).

Ferrero aptly quotes Horace's striking appeal to the triumvirs, 'quo, quo scelesti ruitis?'

(*Epode* 7), which may safely be attributed to the period 32-31 B.C.

² Cassius Dio 50. 7. 3; 9. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 85. Cassius Dio (50. 4. § 3) suggests that Octavian did not outlaw Antony for fear he should thereby ruin many deserving Romans who happened at the time to be in Antony's camp; but he refutes himself by going on to relate that the case of Antony's friends was met by means of a special decree which promised indemnity to deserters from his side.

⁴ Plutarch, *Antonius*, ch. 58 *init.*; Cassius Dio 50. 10. §§ 3-4.

⁵ Cassius Dio, 50. 11. § 5.

implied by a national *iuratio* was organized beforehand, for no one will believe in an infinity of coincidences which led all the 400 odd communities of Italy¹ to take the selfsame oath by an independent inspiration. But in the absence of a press and all other means of rapid communication the mere process of exchanging news and opinions in preparation for a concerted oath-taking would have required an enormous amount of time, and it is unlikely that the scheme could have been carried out during the brief period in which Octavian still hesitated before the open outbreak of hostilities.² Besides, the *municipia* of Italy had for centuries been deprived of all initiative in matters of national policy, and had been rigorously forbidden to combine for purposes of common political action. Thus it becomes hard to explain how they ever so much as considered or discussed a universal *iuratio* without first receiving instructions from a higher authority.

If the above arguments have any force, Augustus' version of the *iuratio* cannot be accepted as it stands. On the other hand, there is no need to adopt Mommsen's desperate expedient of explaining away the statement in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* as a lie pure and simple.³ A direct falsehood on such a colossal scale could too readily have been refuted by the thousands of Italians who survived from the epoch of Actium to the publication of the *Monumentum's* text, and were bound at least to remember whether they had or had not taken the oath of allegiance to Octavian.

The mere fact of the *iuratio* having taken place is therefore not open to dispute. But it can only have been 'spontaneous' in the sense which Ferrero shrewdly reads into the paragraph of the *Monumentum*: the swearing-in was 'not by order,' in that there was no legal authorisation for it; yet the Italians did not take the oath of their own free will, but at the direct instance of Octavian. The *iuratio* thus conceived was a *coup d'état* by which Octavian, with the help of his army, sought to coerce Italy into military allegiance, notwithstanding that the requisite *imperium*⁴ had not been conferred upon him through the usual channels.

According to this explanation Octavian's action is placed in quite a different light from that in which the Emperor himself would fain have presented it. But there is direct evidence in support of the more sinister view. If the people of Bononia, as Suetonius informs us,⁵ were specially exempted by Octavian from the oath, this can only mean that he made it incumbent upon Italy in general. And a still more damning piece of information is contained in Cassius Dio, who narrates that Octavian's army had partly

¹ The number given by Pliny on the authority of Augustus is 430 (*Hist. Nat.* III. § 46 sqq.).

² The federation of discontented Italians which caused the outbreak of the Social War of 91-88 B.C. seems to have dispatched business with fair rapidity. But the area covered by the insurgents was far less than the *tota Italia* of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

Loc. cit.

⁴ If Octavian could be conceived after the lapse of the triumvirate as retaining the proconsular *imperium* inherent in his triumviral powers so long as he received no successor to take charge of his army and himself remained outside the *pomerium*, this *imperium* had been forfeited by his entry into Rome in the early part of 32 B.C. (Kromayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9.)

⁵ *Diuis Augustus*, ch. 17.

been mustered *by force of threats*.¹ Moreover, the above hypothesis will alone serve to explain the miraculous promptness and unanimity with which Italy fell into line; and it saves the credit of the paragraph in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, as against Mommsen's interpretation, by converting it from a clumsy falsehood into an adroit one.

Should Ferrero's theory as to the nature of the *iuratio* be accepted, a new question arises as to the date of the event. If the process was a voluntary one, it can only have taken place in the latter part of 32 B.C., for previous to the divorce of Octavia and the divulcation of Antony's will in midsummer of that year² the feelings of Italy can hardly have been wound up sufficiently for a spontaneous national uprising.

Ferrero adheres to the traditional version in so far as he supposes that Octavian dared not execute his *coup* until the revelations contained in Antony's will had helped to prejudice public opinion in his rival's favour. He therefore relegates the *iuratio* to the end of July. But this conservatism in his chronology exposes him to several difficulties.

Firstly, in the summer of 32 B.C. Octavian was undisputed master of Rome, and had complete control of the machinery of legislation. In such a case why did he not obtain his right of levying troops by an empowering act of the normal type? At the time when he seized the consulship and triumphal prerogatives Octavian had been careful to carry out his usurpation under legal forms, although he stood to gain little or nothing by such constitutional scruples. At the outset of the campaign against Antony it was obviously in Octavian's interest to have the fullest possible show of right on his side. Assuredly, then, he would not have prejudiced his case by an act which was tantamount to high treason, but would have armed himself in a straightforward manner with a senatorial decree and a law of the *Comitia*. Ferrero is accordingly driven to assume that Octavian could not find sufficient senators to make a recommendation or sufficient magistrates to formulate a bill.³ But this he cannot do without grossly exaggerating the stampede which Octavian caused among Antony's adherents by his entry into Rome in the early part of the year. So long as Octavian had a single tribune at his disposal he was at perfect liberty to submit to the *Comitia* any measure which might serve his purpose; and so far as our knowledge goes there was no special dearth of magistrates in Rome during the summer of 32 B.C., for there is no direct evidence that any officials had relinquished their posts except only the two consuls.⁴ As regards the Senate, Ferrero himself in another passage⁵ admits that no less than seven hundred stayed on in Rome. Such numbers as these might surely be described as a *senatus frequens*, and if they did not constitute a quorum it is hard to see how the Senate could ever do business of any sort. It appears, therefore, that Ferrero has quite failed to dispose of the objection advanced against him.

¹ 50. 3, § 4.

² For the dating, see Kromayer, *Hermes*, 33, pp. 44-5

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 79 and 84 n.

⁴ Cassius Di. 50. 2, § 6.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 7 n.

Secondly, one may wonder why Octavian should have held his hand during all the early part of the year, or should at most have undertaken an educational propaganda¹ to prepare public opinion for the coming *coup d'état*. In view of the preparations for war which Antony had been pushing energetically for some time past,² Octavian had everything to gain by hastening the issue. At the beginning of the year he had thrown constitutional scruples to the winds by his forcible purging of the Senate. Was he likely after this to show any pedantic respect for the rights and liberties of the Italians at large? By stumping the country he could at most hope to palliate, but never to efface, the illegality of the *iuratio*. But neither the prospect of so slight a gain nor yet a belated fit of mere nervousness can seriously be thought to have paralyzed Octavian's resolve in the face of the ever-growing danger of an attack by Antony.

Lastly, the taxation riots which followed upon the *iuratio* cannot, on Ferrero's hypothesis, have taken place before August or September of the year 32. But in the autumn of that year Antony had arrived within striking distance of Italy, and actually prepared for an immediate attack on the very ground that Octavian might still be having his hands tied by the unsettled condition of the country.³ If Italy at this crisis was still seething with discontent against Octavian, can it be doubted that Antony would have pressed home his onset? Yet after a slight reconnaissance he tamely abandoned his enterprise, as though the prospects of a surprise landing were too poor to be worth taking into account. This failure on Antony's part can only mean that the commotion in Italy had spent its strength, and that the *iuratio* was already an event of the remoter past. But in this case it is difficult to assign to the *iuratio* so late a date as July of 32 B.C.

It appears, therefore, that the date of the *iuratio* must be thrown back into the earlier part of the year, and accommodated, if possible, into the period previous to Octavian's entry into Rome. These conditions can be fulfilled readily enough if the *iuratio* is amalgamated with Octavian's *coup d'état* in the capital as part of one and the same movement. According to this theory, Octavian's first reply to the hostile motion brought forward in the Senate on New Year's Day of 32 B.C. was the *iuratio*, by which he endeavoured to reduce Italy to obedience; next, after having overawed the country and secured such such sinews of war as it could still find for him, he entered Rome for the less important purpose of seizing the machinery of government.

This version of events avoids all the difficulties which stand in the way of Ferrero's chronology. It explains Octavian's recourse to extra-legal action, for previous to his irruption into the capital he lacked the means of securing his power by a *Lex* or *Senatus consultum*. It makes Octavian's policy appear less strangely inconsistent; and it allows sufficient time to elapse between the upheaval of Italy by the taxation riots and the arrival of Antony's fleet in the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

² Cassius Dio, 50. 9, §§ 2-3.

³ Kromayer, *Hermes*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 28-30.

Adriatic. It has the further advantage of simplifying the course of affairs in 32 B.C. by combining two separate revolutions into one; and it explains all the better the helter-skelter flight of Antony's adherents, who need not have given up the game in Italy as completely lost until the country as well as the city had been effectually dragooned by Octavian. Lastly, it helps to account for the reticence of ancient writers on the subject of the *iuratio*: its close proximity to the *coup d'état* in the capital caused it to be eclipsed by that more dramatic episode.

It may be objected that on this hypothesis too little time is allowed for the preparation of the *iuratio* by Octavian. But the revolution in Rome was not carried out until some time after the memorable sitting of the Senate on January 1,¹ and there is no need to suppose that it took place until February. On this reckoning Octavian would have had all the leisure he needed in order to devise and carry out his scheme of coercion.

Again, it may be asked why Octavian after his early show of vigour remained apparently inactive for all the rest of the year 32 B.C. A sufficient answer can be found in the disaffected condition of the country, which appears to have delayed the completion of Octavian's mobilisation long enough to prevent his getting off the mark within the same year.² Regard must also be had to the temper of his troops, who had refused on several previous occasions to take the field on his behalf against Antony,³ and may have been too untrustworthy for Octavian to lead into the field until the campaigning season of 32 B.C. was past.

There remains a final difficulty. There is no evidence that Octavian's position was legitimised until he assumed a consulship at the commencement of 31 B.C. The negative evidence of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* on this point is of great consequence, and may perhaps be regarded as decisive. But why did Octavian forbear throughout the year 32 to place his power upon a legal basis? The answer to this question is not apparent. But the difficulty remains the same, whatever may be the exact interpretation which we put upon the *iuratio*. Whether this process was a voluntary one or not, whether it occurred in the early or the middle part of the year, it was at all events not sanctioned by law. Octavian's failure to legalise the *iuratio* thus remains inexplicable according to every theory which has hitherto been put forward.

In view of the fragmentary nature of the evidence it is perhaps a hopeless task to endeavour to explain the *iuratio* in all its bearings; but it may be contended that the conventional interpretation of it is unsatisfactory, and that some new theory, such as the one outlined above, must be set in its place.

M. O. B. CASPARI.

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¹ Cassius Dio, 50. 2, §§ 4-5.

² Cassius Dio, 50. 10, § 3, implies that the agitation had not *entirely* died down even in 31 B.C.

³ In 43 B.C. (after Mutina) and in 40 B.C. (at the siege of Brundisium).

THEOPHRASTVS DE PIETATE.

IACOBVS BERNAYS uir sagacissimus, exposuit¹ in Porphyrii de abstinentia libris exstare excerpta ex Theophrasti de pietate libro satis magna, quae antea partim inscientia, partim neglegentia uirorum doctorum erant neglecta. Ad haec fragmenta coniecturas quasdam profero, usus Nauckii editione altera (prodiit in bibliotheca Teubneriana anno 1886).

- p. 117, l. 22 : ἐγένετο ἂν καθ'.
- p. 118, l. 3 : ἐδουλώθημεν ἂν τῷ τοῦ φόβου *.
Loco quem asterisco significauī, codices Monacenses exhibent φρονήματι, Lipsiensis νήματι; Reiske coniecit μιάσματι (quam coniecturam omisit Nauck), Bernays παθήματι, quod sensum praebet optimum, sed facilius codicis Lipsiensis νήματι secuti emendamus πῆματι.
- p. 118, l. 7 : ὀλίγων corruptum.
- p. 135, l. 6 : ἐφ' ἐστίας Eusebius P.E.I., p. 28 C (p. 34, l. 10 Dind.) praebet, quod neglexit Nauck.
- p. 138, l. 12 : Pone καθό Bernays inseruit γάρ, sed cum hic locus sit excerptus et ita quidem, ut sint omissae magnae partes, cauendum est, ne a Porphyrio poscamus, quod a Theophrasto impetraremus. Aliis locis Bernays ipse hoc pressit (cf. pp. 25, 57, 58).—Ceterum hunc locum defendunt etiam Eusebii codices.
- p. 139, l. 23 : et p. 141, l. 1 uerba κατὰ μέρος sana sunt, cf. Theophrast. de igne ed. Gercke (Greifswald 1896) p. 3, l. 18. Defendit uterque hic locus etiam Xenophontis Expedit. Cyri. V. cap. 1 § 9, quem nouissimus quoque editor, uir cautus diligentissimusque, nimirum Gemoll (editio maior, Lipsiae 1909) uncis secludendum putabat.
- p. 141, l. 6 : τὸ θυσίων codices, τὸ τῶν θυσίων Bernays, sufficit τῶν θυσίων.
- p. 142, ll. 16-17 : Bernaysii coniectura εἰ θνόμεν deest in Nauckii editione.
- p. 143, l. 11 : Inserendum conicio μὲν pone συνάγουσι.

¹ 'Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit : Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte. Mit kritischen und erklärenden Bemerkungen zu

Porphyrios' Schrift über Enthaltensamkeit, von J. Bernays, Berlin 1866.'

- p. 151, l. 7: Bernaysii coniecturam ἀρρήτοισι omisit Nauck.
p. 154, l. 9: Verbum ἥ delet Bernays, quod non adnotauit Nauck.
p. 154, l. 24: Pone ἀπολαύσεις quaedam Theophrastea uidetur omisisse Porphyrius.
p. 158, ll. 25-26: Pro ἀρπάξαντα conicio ἀρπάσαντα.
p. 160, ll. 11-12: τὸν εἰρημένον conicio.
p. 221, l. 5-6: Scribendum est, ni fallor, διὰ δυοῖν θάτερον.

THS. OTTO ACHELIS.

BREMAE.

THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

IT might reasonably be argued that this question is one of those historical problems which form excellent subjects for the writing of essays, but which are far too complex to admit of a decisive answer, and consequently are much better left alone. No one man is responsible for a war between great powers, and the motives which influence the vast number of people, whose consent is necessary, can rarely, if ever, be identical. It is therefore comparatively easy to argue against any given motive which is asserted to be the one and only reason. Certainly the writer would make no effort to rake up the ashes of this controversy, were it not that in Dr. Grundy's recent work on Thucydides a new and ingenious theory is put forward concerning the *vera causa* of the Peloponnesian War.

The whole of Dr. Grundy's valuable publication is coloured by his theory that the acquisition of the means of subsistence was the root-principle of the policy of Greek States, a theory which there is no room here to examine in detail. In so far as it applies to the Peloponnesian War, it may be stated thus: Athens was compelled to interfere in the north-west, owing to the necessity of opening out new sources of corn-supply and of providing for her unemployed. The Peloponnese was bound to resist any such project, firstly, because Corinth did not want to see her trade ruined; secondly, because the inland communities were afraid of a blockade and the loss of their imported corn; and, thirdly, because the allies were able to bring pressure upon Sparta.

In Dr. Grundy, then, another critic is raised up in judgment upon Thucydides. The prevalent English opinion on this point is well illustrated in the favourable reception of Mr. Cornford's book, in the general tendency of most Oxford lecturers on the subject, and in the new articles on the Peloponnesian War and on Greek History in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Thucydides' judgment of a purely imperial cause is generally rejected, and the secret of the outbreak is found in the relations of Athens and Corinth rather than of Athens and Sparta. Professor Bury's defence of Thucydides in his Harvard Lectures is almost the only recent presentation of the other point of view.

It is, then, perhaps excusable for some champion, however unworthy, to make another stand on behalf of the deliberate judgment of Thucydides.¹

¹ I. 23.

Διότι δ' ἔλυσαν (τὰς σπονδὰς) τὰς αἰτίας προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μὴ τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν· αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερόν λεγομέναι αἰτίαι αἷδ' ἦσαν ἐκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν. . . . and so to a discussion of the 'incidents' of Epidamnus and Potidaea.

Fortunately his meaning is perfectly plain. The αἰτίαι, or rather the λεγομέναι αἰτίαι ἀφ' ὧν the truce was broken, were αἶδε, i.e., Epidamnus and Potidaea, but the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασιν ἀφανεστάτη δὲ λόγῳ was the fear inspired in the Spartans by the growth of the Athenian power.

The rejection of his deliberate judgment on the cause of the war would probably not have pained Thucydides so much as the salves applied by the critics to his injured reputation. 'Thucydides is quite wrong,' implies Mr. Cornford, 'but you must not blame him because he is writing drama rather than history.' 'Thucydides is wrong,' says Dr. Grundy,¹ 'but excusably so, since he is writing after the end of the war, when the original causes have been obscured by the new developments which arose very soon after the war began.' And here we might very well raise the point, 'What is the value of your commercial or economic *vera causa*, if it had effect only for the first three or four years of the war, while you admit that the question of political supremacy was paramount for the rest of a twenty-seven year struggle? Surely that question of supremacy must have lain hid (ἀφανεστάτη δὲ λόγῳ) all the time.'

But, if the war arose for commercial or economic reasons, all this defence of Thucydides' reasoning is very thin whitewash. It is not once only that he gives his opinion, but at least six times² in the first book. Certainly Thucydides, as Dr. Grundy's book illustrates, is now beginning to meet the fate of Homer. The χαρίζοντες have got him firmly in their grip, and doubtless it is easy to prove that all these passages belong to later redactions. But, for all that, Thucydides must stand or fall by his own judgments, and if, writing soon after the end of the war, he stated over and over again as his convinced opinion that the cause of the war was the imperial jealousy of Athens and Sparta and nothing else, then if we refuse to believe him, we must admit that he has made about as grave a blunder as he could make. He wrote his history from contemporary notes,³ and he must have written down some motive as the cause in 431. He can find no excuse in forgetting the events of 431, for he had his diary. His judgment is a considered judgment, written perhaps after 404, but written after full deliberation and with complete knowledge of all the facts, and his credit as a historian must rest upon it.

Here we meet with a more insidious objection.⁴ Thucydides may have been writing not to combat any view of commercial or economic rivalry

¹ Grundy, *Thucydides*, pp. 412, 413.

² I. 23, 33, 44, 86, 88, 118.

³ I. 1.

⁴ Cornford, *Thuc. Mythistoricus*, p. 30.

between Corinth and Athens, but simply to answer the accusation of Aristophanes and contemporary gossip, that Pericles brought on the war for his own advantage and for personal reasons. Commercial causes, it is agreed, were not separated from political in ancient times, and the imperial struggle between Sparta and Athens would be held to cover the commercial jealousy of Athens and Corinth. But whether the Piraeus traders drove Pericles to war, or whether his motive was the necessity of feeding and employing the unemployed, in neither case can we give Thucydides much credit for discernment in attributing the outbreak to Spartan fear of Athenian expansion. And again, if it was Athenian aggression in the north-west arising out of Attico-Corinthian rivalry that caused the war, it is a bad blunder on Thucydides' part to speak of Spartan fear of Athens as the real cause, and thereby to imply that the true aggression came from the Peloponnese.

It is impossible really to confuse the issue or to effect a compromise. Either Thucydides is wrong or his modern English critics are mistaken, and perhaps a brief re-examination of the problem will be permitted in the hope of throwing a little new light on the question.

The main arguments brought against Thucydides are the following :

1. Why should Sparta be driven to war from fear of Attic expansion in 431, when Athens was really much weaker than she had been a quarter of a century before ?¹
2. The rivalry between Athens and Corinth was far greater than that between Athens and Sparta.²
3. Corinth had most to gain from the declaration of war, and Sparta practically nothing.³
4. Sparta showed great reluctance to fight at all, and in the early years of the war little energy or initiative.⁴
5. Heavy pressure was brought to bear upon Sparta by the inland Peloponnesian states in fear for their food-supply.⁵
6. Corinth forced Sparta to fight by threats of secession.⁶

The attack is formidable, and can be countered only by a careful examination of party politics in Sparta.

Not enough attention has been paid to the fact that at any rate after 550 we have clear evidence of two main parties in Sparta. About that year Sparta came to a very grave turning-point in her policy. Hitherto an absorbing and conquering state, which had amalgamated all Laconia, Messenia, Cynuria, and Southern Arcadia, she was induced by the resistance of Tegea to exchange her policy of conquest for one of alliance and hegemony. Tegea was the first member of the Peloponnesian League. The change is contempo-

¹ Grundy, pp. 323, 408, 409.

² Cornford, chs. 3 and 4; *Encycl. Brit.*, vol. xxi., p. 72.

³ Cornford, p. 10; Grundy, pp. 323 sqq.; *Encycl. Brit.*, vol. xxi., p. 72.

⁴ Cornford, pp. 7 and 8; Grundy, pp. 326 sqq.

⁵ Grundy, pp. 324 sqq.

⁶ *Encycl. Brit.*, vol. xxi., p. 72; Grundy, p. 410.

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aneous with two other important developments. Spartan art, hitherto a luxurious and flourishing plant, stops abruptly as the Lycurgan ἀγωγή is reintroduced with great severity, and the power of the ephors is established on a firmer and more predominant basis. It is impossible to avoid connecting these three contemporaneous events with a single line of policy—that of the great ephor Cheilon.¹ The reintroduction of the ἀγωγή, with the consequently greater exclusiveness of Sparta, and greater emphasis on the democratic character of the régime; the probable initiation of the Thalamæ cult² in the interest of the ephors, as opposed to the royal monopoly of Delphi; the abandonment of conquest, partly no doubt already owing to questions of population, but mainly because conquest tended to aggrandize the kings; and, finally, the known increase of the ephors' power at this time—all show clearly that 550 marks the rising of the ephorate to power as an equipoise to the kings, and the beginning of that division of interests between ephors and kings, that was to become a commonplace of Spartan politics.

The reign of Cleomenes shows the two parties in full opposition, and also throws a light on the unscrupulousness of the ephors. When Cleomenes desires to attack Athens in 506, they combine with Demaratus³ and the Corinthians to restrain him; when he spares Argos, they attack him for his want of energy; when he consults for pan-Hellenic unity by taking hostages from Aegina, they again raise up an antagonist in the shape of Demaratus; and when he finally intrigues for the overthrow of their power with the Arcadians and helots, they accuse him of treachery and procure his ruin. Thus their policy is not constructive but destructive, anti-royal rather than anti-imperialist.

Exactly the same attacks are made on Pausanias. He is accused of medism—a ridiculous charge that led to an acquittal, and his humiliation at the hands of the allies is willingly accepted in Sparta. He, too, is driven by constant opposition into a plot to overthrow not Sparta but the incubus on the Spartan constitution, and is driven to exile and death. Leonidas is abandoned at Thermopylae, and throughout the Persian wars Sparta takes an indecisive line, not because of treachery to the Greek cause, but because of the party

¹ Herod. i. 59; Diog. Laert. i. 68: Χείλων πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο ἐφόρους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παραξενύναναι.

² Cheilon, as we can tell from the data given by Herodotus, was a contemporary of Epimenides the Cretan, who, according to the Ἀθ. Πόλ., purified Athens about 594. Now Epimenides did something also in Sparta, for we find in the Spartan agora a building attributed to him (Paus. iii. 12. 11). As a professional authority on doctrinal matters his action is bound to have been of a religious nature, and it may well be that he was concerned in originating the cult of the Cretan Pasiphae at Thalamæ, which has such an unexplained importance in Spartan ceremonial (Paus. iv. 26. 1; Cic. *de Div.* i. 43, 96). This cult is closely connected with the ephors,

who made use of a dream-oracle in the temple, and is definitely anti-royal, since the goddess of Thalamæ was to be consulted on the deposition of the kings. It seems highly probable that Cheilon and Epimenides effected this reform in common, knowing that it would be an impressive counterblast to the prevailing royal influence at Delphi.

³ Herodotus does not mention the part played by the ephors either at Eleusis or Aegina, but it is usually concluded from the well-known hatred of the ephors both for Cleomenes and Leotychidas, that they acted in concert with Demaratus, also the bitter foe of the other kings. It has been held that the ἀρχή held by Demaratus after his deposition (Herod. vi. 67) was the ephorate.

struggles between kings and ephors. For the ephors were not always supreme. Cleomenes frequently got his own way, and in 494 was acquitted on trial. Pausanias also was acquitted on trial, and in 478, in spite of the withdrawal of Leotychidas from the war in the preceding year, he induced the assembly to put him at the head of a fleet, and led the Greek forces to victory in Cyprus and Byzantium.

Thus we may legitimately assume the existence of two parties in Sparta from 520 to 478, a royal progressive imperial party, anxious for conquest, for hegemony, and even tampering with ideas of emancipation, along with an anti-royal party, headed by the ephors, ready to be inconsistent as long as it got its way, and violently opposed to any ideas of emancipation or relaxation of the strict democratic Lycurgan regime.

Even after the fall of Pausanias the imperialist party in Sparta continued to have power. Diodorus¹ recounts how the reception of the news of the repudiation of Spartan hegemony led to anger and demands for war with Athens, and from that moment an anti-Athenian party came into existence. The ephors who hailed the humiliation of Pausanias with delight were forced in their own defence to preach the doctrine of dual hegemony. They were willing to sacrifice empire to their political exigencies, and to accept an equality of Athens by sea and Sparta by land. Thus in 477, when the war-party was crying for armed intervention to prevent the fortification of Athens, the ephors permitted themselves to be hoodwinked by Themistocles; but later, finding in that statesman an ally or correspondent of Pausanias, they joined in the hue and cry that drove him into Persia. A little later we find Spartan aid promised to Thasos in 465,² and an Attic invasion projected for the following year. But a curious *volte-face* has taken place, for it is the ephors who must have made the promise in Sparta's name, and consequently the ephors who are now identified with the war-party.

This sudden change of front is in no way surprising when we remember that the ephors had no constructive but only an anti-royal policy, proved by their unscrupulous struggle with Cleomenes and Pausanias. The warlike Agiadae were no longer predominant. In 468 Archidamus the Eurypontid succeeded Leotychidas, and both as the elder and the far more capable monarch became the representative of Spartan royalty for the next forty years. Archidamus was consistently for peace. He refused³ to lead the expedition in 457 and 445, and he preached peace in 431. Consequently the ephors were bound to become imperialists, and they effected the change with great celerity. In 462 it was Archidamus, Cimon's friend, who summoned him to Sparta's help at Ithome. The party which drove him out with contumely in the following year and threw down the gauntlet to Athens can only have been that of the ephors. It was the ephors who punished Pleistoanax in 445 for not destroying

¹ XI. 50.

² Thuc. I. 101.

³ The expedition to Tanagra was led by Nicomedes in place of Pleistoanax; the expedition to Eleusis by Pleistoanax himself. The absence

of Archidamus in both cases can only have been due to his own refusal, especially in 457, when it was clearly his duty during the minority of his colleague (Thuc. I. 107).

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Athens, and Sthenelaidas, the ephor, who insisted on war in 431. But Archidamus, who spoke against war in 431, who refused to hold command in 457 and 445, must have been the cause of the rejection of the Lesbian proposals a little before the war and the Persian proposals in 456.

We have dealt at some length with the events of the Pentecontaetia, because it is essential to this question to be perfectly clear on the point that there were two parties in Sparta, a war-party and a peace-party, whose power varied according as Archidamus or one of the ephors was the most persuasive and influential politician of the year.

The ephors were supreme in 465, Archidamus in 462, the ephors in 461, the ephors in 457, Archidamus in 456, the ephors in 446, Archidamus in 440, Archidamus a little before the war,¹ but the ephors in 432-1.

With this fact ever before our eyes we can turn to the objections brought against the theory of Thucydides.

1. Why should Sparta be driven to war in 431 from fear of Attic expansion, when Athens was really far weaker than she had been from 460 to 450?

It is true that Athens was weaker in 431 than she had been in 460, but this argument is not an adequate statement of the facts. For, in the first place, the Athenian expansion of the sixties had actually driven Sparta to war. Few would deny that the war which broke out in 461 was due to Spartan fear of Attic expansion, and that war went on until more by Athenian disasters than by Spartan valour it came to a successful end in 445. Sparta, in the shape of the ephors, did not desire the annihilation of Athens, but her strict adherence to the *status quo* of 477, to the dual hegemony, and to a purely maritime empire. Attic expansion in the sixties had made her fear that the balance of power was threatened. The peace of 445 fulfilled, or nearly fulfilled, Spartan desires, and forced a re-acceptance of the *status quo*.

But if Athens was weaker in 431 than she had been in 460, she was far stronger than she had been in 445. Since the peace she had repaired her treasury and fleet, had put down all disaffection in her league, and was on the point of stretching out her arms to Sicily. The *status quo* was threatened again in 431 very much as it had been in 461, and the expansion of 445 to 435 was analogous to that of 477 to 461.

At this point it may be advisable to consider the question of Potidaea, since it has been held that its important position in the pages of Thucydides is hardly justified, and that his inclusion of it as an important factor in the outbreak of the war is unsatisfactory.²

When Thucydides speaks of *αἰτίαι* and *διαφοραί*, he calls Potidaea and Epidamnus *αἰτίαι*, and considers the smaller grievances, the Megarian decree,

¹ Not only was the Lesbian proposal of revolt rejected, but Sparta intervened or tried to intervene with Sicyon between Corinth and Corcyra.

This must have been due to fear of war and desire to prevent it.

² Grundy, p. 372.

the treatment of Aegina, etc., as *διαφοραί*. Potidaea was subsequent to Corcyra, and therefore not so immediately important from the point of view of the imperial relations of Athens and Sparta, but it is fitly included among the proximate causes of the war, since the treatment of Potidaea must have influenced the votes of many of the smaller Greek states. It was a violent interference with the natural Greek right of autonomy, and whether in its execution it displayed Athenian weakness or strength, in its conception it showed clearly the autocratic and individualistic character of Athenian rule. It may not have impelled Sparta to war as much as the Corcyrean affair did, but it operated far more powerfully on the minor states of the Peloponnesian league, and caused the further exasperation of Corinth.

2. Attico-Corinthian rivalry was greater than Attico-Spartan.

So far from this being true, an anti-Athenian party had existed, as we have seen, in Sparta since 480, and had been since 468 identified with the ephors. It had already brought about war with Athens once, and only Archidamus and the frail bulwark of the Thirty Years' Peace were restraining it. Once let Athens break the letter of the agreement, and the war-party would be supreme. To this is due the importance of the academic question in the Corinthian and Corcyrean debate, as to whether a defensive alliance with Corcyra would break the truce or not, unimportant surely except for its effect on Sparta.

As for Attico-Corinthian rivalry, its bitterness dates from after, not before, the Corcyrean alliance. Herodotus gives quite a false picture of the relations of Athens and Corinth at the time of the Persian wars, and himself elsewhere admits that they were friendly.¹ There had been war in 459, because Athens threatened the north-west trade, but the arrangements of 445 had been satisfactory, and so far from showing rancour, Corinth had stood up for Athens as recently as 440. Corinthian jealousy of Athens dates from the renewal of Attic projects in the west—*i.e.*, from 434—and was neither of long-standing or in the least hereditary. Thus it was not the case that Attic jealousy of Corinthian commerce forced Pericles' hand in the matter; on the contrary, we shall have to admit that that jealousy only arose out of Pericles' action.

3. Corinth had more to gain from the war than Sparta, who could gain nothing from it.

No one can deny that after the alliance of Athens and Corcyra war was a matter of supreme importance to Corinth, but to say that Sparta had nothing to gain from it is to judge from after events. The Spartans, as Thucydides shows, had every hope of success in the war. They did not realize their own powerlessness, and they thought a few years' invasion would reduce Athens to

¹ Herod. v. 92 (about 506 B.C.); vi. 89 (shortly before Marathon). The Corinthian speech in the first book of Thucydides shows (chs. 40 and 41)

that hitherto Corinth and Athens had been on good terms. The enmity referred to is still in the future.

terms. Moreover, the object of the war from their point of view was not so much to gain anything definite as to check Attic expansion. The Attic-Corcyrean alliance meant :

- A. Practically an Athenian corner in ships.
- B. A death-blow to Corinthian trade.
- C. The ultimate extension of Attic influence over Italy and Sicily.

A. was comparatively unimportant by itself, but B. was of supreme importance to Sparta, for if Corinthian trade was ruined, the only financial resource of the Peloponnesian league would be removed. With Athens predominant over Corinth, or even only possessed of her western trade, the funds and the fleet of the Peloponnesian League would be reduced to nil, and Sparta half crippled before the war began. C. If Athens were to be allowed to control the west as she controlled the east, the Peloponnesians would be isolated. A part of her corn-supply, all her ship-building wood, and many sources of commerce would be in Attic hands, and, most important of all, the Attic monopoly of trade would make her so wealthy, so influential, and so strong, that Sparta would be defeated before a blow was struck. These were the imperial and political reasons that made the Corcyrean question of such vital importance to Sparta from the very first.

4. Sparta showed great reluctance to fight at all and little energy in the first years of the war.

We have already seen the most important reason for this reluctance in the condition of Spartan parties. Archidamus and the peace party were a strong brake on the wheel of the imperialist policy, and only the cumulative effects of Corcyra, Potidaea, and Megara were able to overcome their resistance. Moreover, Sparta was bound to wait a little to see developments. The alliance with Corcyra was not a formal breach of the peace, and Sparta was scrupulous in such matters. Only after the affairs of Potidaea and Megara were Athenian intentions perfectly clear. The operations were all in the north-west, because that was the important, and in fact the essential, spot. If Athens could be driven out of the north-west, all would be well. The Corinthians believed in direct attack, and after some hesitation the Spartans followed them, but not with enthusiasm, because Sparta had only one strategy for war, and believed in no other. Invasion with the ravaging of crops was the one Spartan military method, and the unexpected indifference of Athens to this form of warfare paralyzed the Spartan War Office from the first. It took them some years to devise some other plan of attack. As to the frequent efforts to bring the war to an end and to offer terms, it must always be remembered that Sparta was fighting for the restitution of the *status quo*, and if she could get that, she would much sooner stop the war, which was expensive both in money and men. Her imperialists, like Lysander, were still in the schoolroom.

5. The next argument is the especial discovery of Dr. Grundy, that Corinth persuaded the smaller states to vote for war because their corn-supply was threatened.

The reply to this argument is that it goes too far. Dr. Grundy has over-estimated the population of the Peloponnese. It is impossible in a short space to deal at all fully with Dr. Grundy's figures, but one may perhaps be permitted to question very strongly the principles put forward in his note on p. 213 of his book. He suggests there that if the whole cultivable area of Greece were cultivated at the present day, imported corn would be unnecessary. A larger area was cultivable in ancient times, and a great amount of imported corn was necessary. Therefore, he concludes, the ancient population was much larger than the modern. But does this follow?

In the first place, although doubtless the *cultivable* area is smaller now than in antiquity, it is very dubious if the *cultivated* area is smaller. Although the towns of modern Greece are smaller than those of ancient Hellas, there are probably far more villages at the present day, and therefore a greater part of the country is within reach. The blessings of peace, which mean not only that you do not lose your crops through war, but that you can cultivate lands much farther away from your settlement, must have affected the cultivated area, and if, as Dr. Grundy argues rather unfortunately in another place (p. 91), it paid the ancient Greek better to grow something else and to get his corn from abroad, we have still further reason for reducing the land under corn in antiquity. Moreover, rotation of crops and the introduction of Indian corn have revolutionized the possibilities of agriculture, and it is therefore impossible to base any figures of population on the very dubious comparison between the area cultivated in ancient and modern times. On any reasonable estimate of the population—*e.g.*, of Laconia—there can be no doubt that the ancient population was smaller than the modern. The decisive figure is the 35,000 helots sent to Plataea. They were sent not to fight but to be out of the way of mischief while Sparta was empty. They represent, then, the greater part of the able-bodied helot population. In that case there cannot have been more than 200,000 helots, who with 80,000 perioeci, and certainly not more than 30,000 Spartiates, fail to equal the 350,000 modern inhabitants of the same area.

With a smaller population, we have no reason to consider the problem of food-supply acute in the Peloponnese. The quotation from Herodotus¹ in regard to the corn-ships of 480 refers to Aegina and the Peloponnese—*i.e.* to the neighbouring part of Peloponnese, the barren Acte from Corinth to Troezen. Most of Argolis is, in fact, an indifferent country for crops. But neither Aegina nor Argolis was concerned in the matter of an Athenian blockade. Achaea, Elis, Arcadia, Laconia, and Messenia have ample cultivable land, and even if on Dr. Grundy's theory it had been found more profitable as

¹ VII. 147.

a rule to substitute vines and olives for corn, yet a corn-crop only takes a year to grow, and if the danger of blockade were imminent, corn could speedily be grown all over Peloponnese. But Dr. Grundy overestimates the possibilities of blockade. The history of the war itself is sufficient to show that an Athenian blockade of Peloponnese was impossible. The theory that the Peloponnesians gravely proposed to import corn overland from a point north of Corcyra, through modern Albania and Aetolia to Oeniadae, and thence by sea to Cyllene is hardly credible. Not only would it be impossible physically and financially to import corn on mule-back through a wild stretch of barren country, but the Athenian privateers from Naupactus and Cephallenia would have stopped it at the end of its long journey. Doubtless a possible rise in corn may have contributed to the annoyance of the smaller Peloponnesian states, but it was the hard political facts of Megara and Potidaea and not an economic theory that united them. It was autonomy, not food, for which Greece was fighting.

There is a tendency to-day among historians to give far too much weight to commercial or economic motives in dealing with ancient states. Such motives are rarely mentioned by ancient writers, and naturally so, because even if subsidiary, they were never ἀληθέσταται προφάσεις, simply because they were not understood by the mass of the people. Even in Athens, the political influence of the Piraeus traders cannot have been as great as Mr. Cornford would have us believe, and the idea that Sparta could be persuaded to fight for the commerce of Corinth or the corn-supply of Arcadia is preposterous.

6. The answer to this argument, and the final explanation of the cause of the war by the critics of Thucydides, is that Corinth threatened to secede to Argos if Sparta would not fight, and so Sparta was driven into action.

History does not bear out the view that Sparta's hand could be forced in this way. Neither the Corinthian war nor the Mantinean campaign suggests that Argos and Corinth could ever have made a united stand against Sparta. Argos was a far more dangerous ally to Corinth than Sparta could ever be, and for good or evil the fate of the two latter was bound up together. It is the imperial danger, not the economic, that the Corinthian advocates harp upon. The Corinthian speech is that of impassioned pleaders because their interests were bound up with the war, but there is no trace in the speech of Sthenelaidas that the threat of secession has made the slightest impression, or was, in fact, anything more than a rhetorical flourish.

Our conclusion, then, on the whole matter is that the criticism of Thucydides has failed, and that his ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις still holds. The position of affairs after 440 was an enriched and growing Athens on the one side, watched on the other by a jealous Sparta with a war-party always on the *qui vive*.

To this powder-magazine comes the spark of the Corintho-Corcyrean difference. What was Pericles to do? He had not yet begun to save for war, because he did not anticipate it so soon, though he knew, as all Greece

did, that it was inevitable in the end. If he let Corcyra go, he was losing 200 ships (Corcyra would never have fought Corinth without Attic help), and he would have lost his bridge to the west. If he accepted, he made war certain, as soon as Sparta realized the position; but he would have his bridge to the west, and he thought Athens was impregnable. She was to be on the defensive throughout, and Sparta was at last to admit that she could do nothing. Then the Peloponnesian League would break up, as it had done in 473 and 464, and as it actually did in 421. Athens would be left mistress of the Greek world.

This explains Pericles' acceptance of the alliance. Sparta's hesitation for a year or two is easily understood. The truce was not yet technically broken, and she did not yet know what use Athens was going to make of her position. Potidaea and Megara showed that. The treatment of Potidaea was essential to guard against a weak spot in Athens' armour; the treatment of Megara was a warning to the world that while Sparta was helpless, Athens could deal with Spartan allies as she liked. And so, with the Athenian cards on the table, Archidamus had to give way, and πολλῶ πλείους voted for war in the Spartan assembly because they saw that the Corcyrean alliance was building for Athens a bridge to the treasures of the west. The *status quo* was altered, and Potidaea and Megara showed them how Athens intended to use her supremacy. Sparta had fought in 461 because Athens was growing too powerful. She found that the snake was scotched, not killed, and that the Corcyrean alliance would mean beginning the work of destruction all over again. The imperial importance of this alliance was recognized in Sparta from the first. The peace party vainly tried to patch up a compromise before the war by intervening at Corinth, and at the last moment Archidamus tried to stem the tide of popular passion; but no one who reads the account of the debate in Sparta can fail to see that the overwhelming feeling of the audience was in favour of war not against the commercial foe of Corinth, who might secede from the League, but against the imperial menace of Athens, which was threatening to isolate the Peloponnese. 'Our aim in Sicily,' said Alcibiades later,¹ 'is τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ . . . ἐπιχειρήσειν, κομίσαντες ξύμπασαν μὲν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν προσγενομένην δύναμιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πολλοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους μισθωσάμενοι καὶ Ἰβήρας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ ὁμολογουμένως νῦν βαρβάρων μαχιμωτάτους, τριήρεις τε πρὸς ταῖς ἡμετέραις πολλὰς ναυπηγησάμενοι, ἐχούσης τῆς Ἰταλίας ξύλα ἄφθονα, αἷς τὴν Πελοπόννησον πέριξ πολιορκούντες καὶ τῷ πέζῳ ἅμα ἐκ γῆς ἐφορμαῖς τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν βίᾳ λαβόντες, τὰς δ' ἐντειχισάμενοι, ῥαδίως ἡλπίζομεν καταπολεμήσειν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ ξύμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ ἄρξειν.' The plans are those of a later date, but there was more than one Alcibiades living in 431 to whom such ideas had already occurred, and the Peloponnesians who had the fate of Potidaea, Megara, and Aegina before their eyes, may well have been excused if they even exaggerated the dangers of the Athenian empire.

OXFORD.

G. DICKINS.

¹ Thuc. vi. 90.

DOROTHEVS AGAIN, AND OTHERS.

THE poetical remains of Dorotheus, on which I made some comments in the *Classical Quarterly* vol. ii pp. 47-61, have received from the cod. Vat. Graec. 1056 an increase of ten verses, published by Mr J. Heeg in *catal. cod. astrol. Graec.* vol. v part iii p. 125 and also in *Hermes* vol. xlv pp. 316-8. They deal with conjunctions of Mars and Saturn :

ἀμφοτέρων δὲ
κιρναμένων μέσσος κεν ἐὼν βροτὸς ἔσσειτ' ἄριστος.

Mr Heeg prints *κείνων* from the conjecture of Mr Boll. Emendatorial activity would have been better employed in correcting such things as *Ζῆνος, πρήεα, ἄρ' Ἐνναλίφ, ἄρ' Αἰγίοχος* : here there is not a letter to be changed.

μέσσος κεν ἐὼν βροτὸς ἔσσειτ' ἄριστος.

This good epic construction recurs in 272 τότε κεν πλόος ἔσσεται ἐσθλός and in other verses.

Mr Heeg has observed that the chapter which he prints in the *C.C.A.G.* on pp. 80-2 is a prose paraphrase of Doroth. 296-318. But he has overlooked a still closer paraphrase in the passage printed on p. 122, whose heading is λόγοι τοῦ Δωροθέου :

ἐνδέχεται εἰς πᾶσαν καταρχὴν . . . ἐπιχειρήσεως κτίσματος, ἵνα αὐξίφωτῇ ἡ Σελήνη καὶ προστίθεται τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς βορεία τε οὖσα καὶ συνάπτουσα τῷ Διὶ ἢ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. παρατηρεῖν δὲ δεῖ τὸ μὴ συνάπτεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς τὸν Κρόνον· δηλοῖ γὰρ δυσχέρειαν ἐπὶ τῇ καταρχομένῃ πράξει καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ περὶ τινος ὑποθέσεως γενομένη ἐρωτήσει. εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη συνοδεύει τῷ Ἄρει ἢ συσχηματίζει ἐπὶ καταρχῆς κτίσματος τινος, ἐπισυμβήσεται ἐμπρησμός ἢ χαλασμός ἢ πόλεμος.

This is Doroth. 128-34 :

ἡνίκα δ' αὖτε θέμεθλα δομήμ' ἔργα τελειοῖς
προσθετικὴ φάεσιν καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μήκος ἀριθμοῖς
ἔστω τοι Κερόεσσα τό τε πλάτος ἐμβαίνουσα
ὅττι βορειότατον ζώνης πλινθήϊόν ἐστιν,
ἢ Διὸς ἢ Παφίης ἐν σχήμασι μαρτυρεόντων
ἢ ἐν συνεσσυμένων· φαίνων γε μὲν αἶεν ἐρύκει
δερκόμενος, μαλερὴν δὲ περὶ φλόγα Θοῦρος ὀρίνει.

Again, on pp. 49-50, Mr Heeg mentions a chapter *περὶ γάμου* found on fol. 177 of the MS and beginning *τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα*, and says that perhaps it is identical with a chapter in cod. Ven. Marc. 335 fol. 99^v beginning *τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκ τοῦ ὥροσκόπου λάμβανε*. Perhaps it is; but what is equally probable, and more important if true, is that it comes from Dorotheus. 135 sqq., cited in Heph. Theb. iii 9 *περὶ γάμου*:

*ἄνδρα μὲν Ἥλιον καὶ ἀνερχόμενον σκοπὸν ὥρης
... ἂν φράσσαιο κ.τ.λ.*

Mr Heeg himself notes that Dorotheus is mentioned in the chapter, and adds 'edetur in appendice'; but this promise he has forgotten to keep.

Finally the chapter printed on p. 120, *λέγουσιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι κ.τ.λ.*, has a good deal in common with Dorotheus. 211-5. Dorotheus and the Egyptians are often mentioned in company.

Not even an editor of Manilius is bound to read the volumes of the C.C.A.G., but he is bound to skim them; and on two pages of this instalment my eye has been caught by a number of errors both obvious and easily removed.

Page 96.

περὶ τῶν ζῳδίων λέγει ὁ Σαραπίων οὕτως. περισσομελῇ ζῳδιά εἰσι τὰ τοῖς μέλεσι πλεονάζοντα, Ταῦρος, Καρκίνος, Παρθένος, Σκορπίος, Τοξότης, Δίδυμοι, Ἵδρωχος, Ἰχθύες, Αἰγόκερως, <Λέων>· Ταῦρος μὲν διὰ τὴν Πλειάδα, Καρκίνος διὰ τὸ νεφέλιον, Παρθένος διὰ τὸν στάχυν, Σκορπίος διὰ τὸ κέντρον, Τοξότης διὰ τὴν ἀκίδα, Δίδυμοι διὰ τὴν λύραν, Ἵδρωχος διὰ τὴν κάλπιν, Ἰχθύες διὰ τὸ λίνον, Αἰγόκερως διὰ τὴν οὐρὰν τὴν περικαμπῇ, Λέων δὲ μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς Ἰχθύας πολυκίνητον καὶ ἀντικείμενον αὐτῷ.

πάρυγρα δὲ Λέων ὁ αὐτός, Ἵδρωχος διὰ τὸν Ἡριδανόν, Αἰγόκερως διὰ τὸ οὐραῖον, Τοξότης διὰ τὸ πλοῖον [τῆς Ἀργοῦς] καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον πέλαγος.

Mr Heeg's notes on the three readings are 'Λέων om. cod.,' 'ἐαυτῷ cod.,' 'τῆς Ἀργοῦς uncinis secl.' In all three places the MS is right.

Because at the end of the first paragraph Mr Heeg finds Λέων coming after Αἰγόκερως, he inserts it in the same place in the first sentence. But the sign of Leo is not *περισσομελής*, and, if it were, the reason which Mr Heeg has provided, *διὰ τοὺς Ἰχθύας ἀντικείμενον αὐτῷ*, would still be a false reason; for Pisces is not opposite Leo: it is opposite Virgo, and Leo is opposite Aquarius. *ἀντικείμενον ἐαυτῷ* is an astrological epithet for the double sign of Pisces itself: Vett. Val. ed. Kroll p. 13 1-4 *Ἰχθύες εἰσὶν . . . πολυκίνητον . . . ἀντικείμενον ἐαυτῷ διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν νότιον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ βόρειον*, Ludw. Maxim. p. 109 21 *ἀντικείμενον ἐαυτῷ Ἰχθύες*. And the Λέων twice mentioned in this extract is no sign of the zodiac, for the terror of Nemea was no more *πάρυγρον* than he was *περισσομελής*: the phrases *Λέων δὲ μᾶλλον*, *Λέων ὁ αὐτός*, make it plain that Leo is an astrological authority quoted

like Sarapio. We can even identify him: he is ὁ σοφώτατος Λέων, the author of the chapter περὶ ἡλιακῆς ἐκλείψεως printed in *Hermes* viii pp. 173-6 and of the σχόλια Λέοντος φιλοσόφου in *C.C.A.G.* i p. 139. The words mean 'but Leo, differing from Sarapio, says that Capricorn is περισσομελές not διὰ τὴν οὐρανὸν but διὰ τοὺς Ἰχθύας,' 'the same Leo calls Aquarius, Capricorn and Sagittarius πάρνυρα.' What Leo meant or thought he meant by these ἰχθύες which he connects with Capricorn I will not now enquire; but the same fiction or fantasy appears in three lists of παρανατέλλοντα printed by Mr Boll on pp. 49 and 58 of his *Sphaera*: ἐν Αἰγυπτίῳ ἰχθύες.

Lastly I come to the excision of τῆς Ἀργούσ. That Mr Heeg should himself refuse to identify this πλοῖον (*Erat. catast.* 28, schol. German. Breys. pp. 90-1) with the constellation Argo is eminently proper; but he has no business to impose his own opinion, however correct, on the sapient Leo, for we know that astrologers confused them. We have the close parallel *C.C.A.G.* i pp. 165-6 ἐνυδρα . . . Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ οὐραῖον, Τδροχός διὰ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (υπαυτοὺς cod., ὑπ' αὐτῶν Cumont, I cannot imagine why) ἐκχεῖσθαι τὸν Ἡριδανὸν ποταμὸν, Τοξότης δὲ διὰ τὴν Ἀργὴν τὸ πλοῖον καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον πέλαγος, and again ii p. 168 31 ἐν γὰρ Τοξεύτῃ ἢ Ἀργὴν τὸ πλοῖον, Vett. Val. p. 11 3 Τοξότης . . . κάθυγον διὰ τὴν Ἀργὴν. To identify, as Leo does, Eridanus with the χύσις ὕδατος is likewise a blunder; but Mr Heeg does not correct it for him.

Page III.

Here we have a pretended geniture of Mohammed.

εὐρέθη ὁ ὥροσκόπος Ἰχθύες καὶ ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι Τοξότης καὶ καθεξῆς Κρόνος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ, Ἀναβιβάζων ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ, Σελήνη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ, Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἄρης ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ εἰς τὴν Παρθένον, Ἥλιος ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ εἰς τὸν Σκορπίον, Ζεὺς καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Καταβιβάζων ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ εἰς τὸν Τοξότην.

So far all is plain; but now begins the interpretation of these data, and blunders come thick and fast. The numbers which I prefix to my citations are those of the lines of the page.

3-5. εὐρομεν τὸν ὥροσκόπον οἶκον Διὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὀρίοις συνοδεύον τῷ Ἑρμῇ ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι (ὑπογείῳ cod., corr. Cumont). συνοδεύοντα, whether it agrees with ὥροσκόπον or with οἶκον, is nonsense: it must be συνοδεύοντος. Jupiter and Mercury, it has already been said, were in synod in the tenth place, the Medium Caelum: see also l. 11 τὸν Ἑρμῆν συνοδεύοντα τούτῳ (τῷ Διί).

5-7. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας κύριος ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τῆς ὥρας ὁ Ἑρμῆς, καὶ ὁ Καταβιβάζων μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὸ μεσουράνημα ὁ Ἀναβιβάζων. The Anabibazon was not in the Medium Caelum but in the Imum Caelum, ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ. I do not need to be told that μεσουράνημα is sometimes used (and correctly enough) for ἀντιμεσουράνημα; but comparison with l. 5 above

makes it clear that the scribe transposed his terms, wrote *ὑπογείω* there for *μεσουρανήματι*, and *μεσουράνημα* here for *ὑπόγειον*.

8-9. *ὁ δὲ τρίτος τόπος ἀνθρωπόμορφον ζῳδιον*. Either *τρίτος* or *ἀνθρωπόμορφον* is wrong, for in this geniture the sign in the third place must have been Taurus.

15. *διότι δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ Διὶ ὁ Ἄρης*, and again 31-2 *διότι δὲ ἦν ὁ Ἄρης ἐν τῷ Διὶ μέλλων εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν Ζυγόν*. If this were poetry, *Διὶ* might stand for *οἶκῳ Διός*; but that would give a false sense, for Mars was in Virgo, which is a house not of Jupiter but of Mercury. Write *ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ*: the scribe mistook ζ' for Ζ in both places.

22-4. *εὔρον τὸν Ἀναβιβάζοντα ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τόπῳ ἐν οἶκῳ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸν δὲ κύριον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κάτω συνοδεύοντα τῷ Διὶ*. Mercury and Jupiter were not ἐν τῷ κάτω but in the very highest part of the zodiac. Mr Heeg innocently observes 'ante κάτω superscr. man. ead. δε.' Well, there is the truth: ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ.

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MISCELLANEA.

PARMENIDES (Diels) i 37. *μόνος δ' ἔτι θυμός ὁδοῖο|λείπεται*. It is generally admitted that *θυμός* is unintelligible; people who 'can construe *anything*' can of course construe this also. Others compare viii 1, *μόυνος δ' ἔτι μῦθος ὁδοῖο|λείπεται*, and would read *μῦθος* here. This is no more intelligible than the other, and it is pretty clear that both lines are corrupt, and that the phrase was originally neither *μῦθος* nor *θυμός ὁδοῖο*. There is a word which would very easily be corrupted into *θυμός*, and that word is *οἶμος*; for the tautology of *οἶμος ὁδοῖο* compare i 27. *τήνδ' ὁδόν, ἥ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκτὸς πάτου ἐστίν*, where a *ὁδός* is outside a *πάτος*, and many similar epic phrases such as *ἀοιδῆς ὕμνος, τέλος θανάτοιο*.

Ibid. ii 2. *οὐ γὰρ ἀποτμήξει τὸ ἐὼν τοῦ ἐόντος ἔχεσθαι*. This again can only be construed by ignoring all we know of Greek habits of speech. Now *ἔχεσθαι* and *ἔχεισθα* are practically identical in MSS., *ἀποτμήξαι ἔχεισθα* is unimpeachable Greek, and when *ἔχεισθα* had been corrupted *ἀποτμήξαι* had to go too. The form *ἔχεισθα* is a startling one, but it is found in Theognis 1316; the verb is abnormal in other respects also, as the wonderful optative *σχόιν* testifies; hence I believe that the still more extraordinary *σχήσεισθα* of *Hymn. Cer.* 366 is genuine (*σχήσησθα* M, *σχήσεισθα* Boissonade); anyhow it is more plausible in so ancient a hymn than the aorist *σχήσησθα*.

Ibid. viii 55. *ἀντία δ' ἐκρίναντο δέμας καὶ σήματ' ἔθεντο*. Qu. *δέμα*, the contracted form of *δέμαα*? Compare *κρέα, γέρα*. The plural of *δέμας* seems not to occur elsewhere, but is necessary here.

The line looks like a reminiscence of *Iliad* x 466, *δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σήμά τ' ἔθηκε*.

LYSIAS v. 4. *ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς αἵτιοι γεγεννημένοι, περὶ ἐλευθερίας νυνὶ ποιοῦνται τοὺς λόγους*.

Lysias is trying to discredit the evidence of slaves, who have been acquainted with evil all their lives, *πολλῶν κακῶν πεπειραμένοι*, and now talk about liberty 'as if they had become *αἵτιοι* of something good.' But *αἵτιοι* is no sense; the point is not that the slaves have *done* evil before, but now have become the *cause* of good; the point is that they have *suffered* evil and now talk as if they *deserved* good. Read then *ἄξιοι*. This word is frequently confused with *αἵτιοι*, e.g. Aristoph. *Ach.* 633, 1062; and an unlucky instance

of this confusion has run like wildfire all through Nall's 'Exercises on Rutherford's Syntax.'

LYSIAS vii 22. οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρων ἔδει σοι μαρτύρων. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σοι συνήδεσαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντι, οἵπερ καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν ἔμελλον περὶ τοῦ πράγματος.

Plainly we should read οὗτοι for οὕτω, and then we get οἵπερ properly led up to and ἐτέρων properly connected with what follows it. Doubtless οὕτω can be explained, but who that is acquainted with the tone of Attic oratory can hesitate to prefer οὗτοι? And now I find that it is actually given in the margin of the Aldine.

LYSIAS xii 47. καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κακοῖς πιστοὺς ἐνόμιζον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς <οὐκ ἂν> ῥαδίως παρέβαινον. Careful consideration of the argument will show that the insertion of οὐκ ἂν is absolutely necessary. 'They had scruples about breaking their oaths when it was a question of injuring their fellow-citizens, but if they had any sense in them they *would not have shrunk* from transgressing them for the benefit of Athens.' The μέν and δέ cannot be ignored; yet unless they are ignored οὐκ must negative the *whole* sentence, not only the μέν clause. But if οὐκ negatives ῥαδίως παρέβαινον we get the statement that these people 'would not have lightly broken their oath,' as if they *had* broken it; now what Lysias complains of is that they did *not* break it. Therefore we must have οὐκ —οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως παρέβαινον.

Lysias is particularly fond of these complicated sentences where a negative is followed by μέν and δέ, the δέ clause also containing another negative. For example vii 26: καίτοι οὐ δῆπου τὰς μὲν μικρὰς ζημίας οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεαι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδύνους οὕτω περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγούμεαι.

PLUTARCH *de Liberis Educandis* 12 E. 'μὴ φορεῖν στενὸν δακτύλιον,' ὅτι δεῖ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ μὴ δεῖν δεσμῷ προσάπτειν αὐτόν. The words are an enigma of Pythagoras with Plutarch's solution, but at present no sense can be got out of the latter. If we are recommended 'not to wear a *tight* ring,' it is clear that the ring typifies something bad and that must be part of the explanation. Then what would it typify? The sort of thing that narrows our lives might be very variously expounded, but if we are to keep to the Greek it will have to be ἐπιτήδευσις; bad habit may well be likened to a tight ring. For ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ therefore ἐπιτηδεύσει κακῇ seems the most plausible correction. Then προσάπτειν δεσμῷ means nothing, and what is αὐτόν? Should we continue with something like μὴ δεῖν ὥσπερ δεσμῷ περιάπτοντα?

PLUTARCH *Quomodo Adolescens, etc.* 17 D. αὐται (sc. αἱ φωναὶ) πεπονθότων εἰς καὶ προεαλωκότων ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ ἀπάτης. Read πεποιθότων, comparing the words at the beginning of 17 C, καὶ οὐθ' Ὀμηρος οὔτε Πίνδαρος οὔτε Σοφοκλῆς πεπεισμένοι ταῦτ' ἔχειν οὕτως ἔγραψαν κ.τ.λ. Plutarch complains that the poets do not speak as men convinced in their description of the next world, but when they lament over death, then they are convinced and slaves of a false opinion.

PLUTARCH *Quomodo Adulator*, etc. 57 E. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ, φησὶν, οὐδέν ἐστι δεινόν, οὐδέν πονηρόν, ἀλλ' ἴδιος ἄνθρωπος, πάντα πράως φέρει, πάντ' ἀλύπως.

Read ἀλλ' ἱερὸς ἄνθρωπος. Cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 652. This is perhaps better in itself and certainly nearer the MSS. than ἀλλὰ θεῖος would be, but either may have been the original.

Ibid. 63 C. ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ φίλου χάρις ὥσπερ ζῶον ἐν βάθει τὰς κυριωτάτας ἔχει δυνάμεις. The meaning is that the favour of a friend is not superficial but has a solid basis, even if the surface is not so attractive as that of a flatterer. Compare *de Amicorum Multitudine* 96 F, καίτοι τοῦ πολυπόδος αἱ μεταβολαὶ βάθος οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτὴν γίνονται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. But the ζῶον here cannot be a cuttle-fish nor any other animal surely. Read ῥόν (the two words are frequently confused in the MSS. of Aristotle); the value of an egg is not in its shell.

PLUTARCH *de Sollertia Animalium* 977 A. Discussing the Homeric account of fishing, *Iliad* xxiv 80-82, Plutarch quotes a ridiculous explanation of κέρας, and then continues thus: 'Αριστοτέλης δέ φησι μηδὲν ἐν τούτοις λέγεσθαι σοφὸν ἢ περιττὸν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι κεράτιον περιτίθεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἀγκίστρου περὶ τὴν ὀρμίαν. 'Locum non inueni,' says Bernardakis, and no wonder; of course 'Αριστοτέλης is simply a mistake for 'Αρίσταρχος.

Ibid. 967 F.

After quoting a passage of Aratus (*Phaen.* 956):

ἡ κοίλης μύρμηκες ὄχης ἐξ ὧσα πάντα
θᾶσσον ἀννέγκαντο,

Plutarch adds: καὶ τινες οὐκ 'ὥσα' (ὧσα Bernardakis) γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' 'έα' ὡς τοὺς ἀποκειμένους καρπούς. Nobody can have written έα because it will not scan, nor has it any meaning except *sua* and that is pointless. Read ἦα.

What the ants really carry out in Aratus and Virgil is their pupas, but these are commonly called 'eggs' to this day.

A little further on he says: τοὺς δὲ τὰς μυρμηκίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ καταμαθεῖν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνατομῆς πληροῦντας οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι. Bernardakis suggests πληροῦντας; he might as well have suggested κληροῦντας. Nothing near the letters will do, but the sense shows that Plutarch wrote θεωροῦντας.

Ibid. 977 F. τῶν δικτύων οὖν τὸ γένος ὀρθῶς Ὅμηρος πανάγρην προσεῖπεν. But he doesn't; the reference is to *Iliad* v 487, and Plutarch wrote παναγρον.

Ibid. 979 A. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐχίνου γέ τινα χερσαίου διηγῆσατο πρόγνωσιν Ἀριστοτέλης πνευμάτων. But the MSS. of Plutarch give Ἀριστότιμος; the philosopher has been imported here by Rose who on the strength of this conjecture ascribes the passage to Aristotle (*frag.* 342). Anyone who will read the treatise will see that the MSS. are right. In 965 E Aristotimus begins a long speech in praise of the wisdom of land-animals, in the course of which he tells the story about the hedgehog here referred to (972 A).

Phaedimus is now answering him and naturally refers to him by name. Therefore let us take the advice of Autobulus; *μὴ τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους πράγματα βιβλίοις παρέχωμεν.*

The following corrections of Plutarch's *Moralia* are pretty obvious and of no particular interest:

2 C, read *εὐδαίμων* and *Θεοφιλής*. 5 B, <διὰ> *μίαν ἡδονήν*; cf. 12 C. 7 E, *αἰρετέον* and *φευκτέον*. 10 D, *ἀπελθών* is part of the words of Plato. 14 A, <οἱ> *φαύλως ζῶντες*, and for *ἄγουσιν* read *ἔχουσιν*; the opposite corruption is found in 27 D. 33 F, *εἰς ἀκρασίας*. 41 F, *διαπτόμεναι*. 59 A, *Βίαντος* for *Βίωνος*? 74 A, *πληκτική* for *πρακτική*? 81 E, omit *ἐν* after *κατ'* *ἀρχὰς μὲν*. 100 F, *εἰ καθεύδουσι*. 115 A, *καὶ τὸ* after *θάλασσα*. 140 C, *ἤδη τάνδρι* for *ἤδη ἀνδρί* which is condemned by the sense and the hiatus. 146 D, *κατὰ* for *μετά*. 147 D, *μᾶλλον* for *πολλῶν*. 152 B, *προσαποφαίνομαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις γνώμαις ἀπάσαις σχεδὸν ἀφεστάναι*.

PHILOSTRATUS *Vit. Apoll.* i 22 ad fin. *ἴωμεν εὐξόμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ ταῦτα φαίνουσι.*

It is possible to construe *ἴωμεν εὐξόμενοι*, but the natural thing would be to thank the gods *before* departing, as Socrates does in *Phaedrus* 279 B, *οὐκουν εὐξαμένω πρέπει τοῖσδε πορεύεσθαι*; 'should we not offer up thanks to these before we go?' Indeed Philostratus had, I think, this passage in his mind. Read therefore *εὐξάμενοι*.

Besides Philostratus tries to write Attic prose and in Attic prose one does not use *εἶμι* with a future participle, I believe. The lexicon quotes Plato *Laus* 909 D, but Plato is there laying down a law in his most stilted and artificial style. 'Let us go to pray' in ordinary Attic is *εὐχόμεθα ἰόντες*.

Ibid. i 33 (Teubner ed. p. 35, l. 12). For *ἀφαιρείται* read *ἀφήρηται*.

Ibid. ii 11. For *ἡ μᾶστιξ* read *τῇ μᾶστιγι χρῆσθαι*. The last word was lost, and then the dative had to be changed to the nominative, but it does not fit in properly.

Ibid. ii 12. *πύργους . . . ἀφ' ὧν τοξεύουσιν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοί, καθάπερ ἐκ πυλῶν βάλλοντες*. Towers on the back of elephants; *πυλῶν* is absurd. Qu. *τειχῶν*? For *τει* may be easily written very like *πν*, and *λ* is eternally confused with *χ*.

Ibid. ii 22. *ὃν δὲ διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρόνον, πολὺς δὲ οὗτος ἐγένετο, ἔστ' ἂν ἀγγελλθῇ κ.τ.λ.*

Read *ἔστ' ἀνηγγέλθη* or *ἀναγγελλεῖν*.

Ibid. iii 48 ad fin. *τὴν τίγριν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μόνην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τάχος αὐτὴν ἐσποιεῖ τοῖς ἀνέμοις*.

Qu. *ἴσσην ποιεῖ*? *ἴσοποιεῖ* would be neater, but there is no such word accredited.

Ib
be str
wisdom
διαβεβ
R
Ib
TI
have w
Ib
Ib
Ib
Ib
C
possibl

Ibid. iv 8 ad fin. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ διαβεβλήσθαι τὰς χεῖρας. 'A state will be strong if every one follows his own bent, one man being admired for wisdom, another for being a severe censor of morals, another for not διαβεβλήσθαι τὰς χεῖρας.'

Read τοῖς χείροσιν. 'For getting on well with his inferiors.'

Ibid. iv 32. οἱ μέσῃν ποτὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὥκησαν.

The meaning should be: 'who built Sparta inland.' Philostratus must have written μεσόγειον.

Ibid. iv 40. Read 'ἐμὴ γὰρ' ἔφη 'αὕτη <ή> ἀρχή.'

Ibid. v 7 ad fin. Read ἀναχωρήσειν.

Ibid. vii 11. Surely ἀνέγκισαν should be ἀπέγκισαν?

Ibid. viii 7 (Teubner ed. p. 314, l. 15). Read πάντα <τὰ> γιγνόμενα.

Compare Plato *Rep.* 596 C—E, which I think was in the author's mind possibly.

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OEDIPVS TYRANNVS 772.

τῷ γὰρ ἂν καὶ μείζονι
λέξαιμ' ἂν ἢ σοὶ διὰ τύχης τοιαῦσδ' ἰών;

Mr. Richards is justified in saying that *μείζονι* is here indefensible, but he does not much mend matters by reading *κάμεινονι*. Iocasta may have been a paragon of all the virtues, but what has that to do with it? No, the real correction is *μείζονα*. 'To whom should I tell even greater things than this rather than to thee?'

The confusion or fusion of comparatives is exactly in the manner of Sophocles; *μείζονα* means *μείζονα τούτων*, and at the same time we must get *μᾶλλον* out of it to go with *ἢ σοί*. Another instance of the same construction is *Ant.* 313:

ἐκ τῶν γὰρ αἰσχροῶν λημμάτων τοὺς πλείονας
ἀτωμένους ἴδοις ἂν ἢ σεσωμένους.

Here the article with *πλείονας* compels us to take the words to mean 'the majority of people,' but out of the comparative we supply *μᾶλλον* to go with *ἢ σεσωμένους*.

Now see what delicate work has been ruined all these centuries by this unlucky blot. Oedipus thought little enough of the murder of Laius at the time, but now it is becoming serious, very serious indeed. Nothing 'greater' than that seems to his limited view possible, but should there be such to whom can he tell it rather than to his wife? Yet there is one thing worse in store for him, the very fact that she is his wife, and when in his trouble he turns to her for consolation, promising to confide even greater things to her if to anyone, he knows not that of all creatures on the face of the earth she is the very last to whom he could say a word about it.

I rather wonder that it never struck anybody that *λέξαιμι* without an accusative was here utterly intolerable. 'To whom should I speak?' indeed! But I confess to total blindness on that point myself, at least till after I had seen the meaning of the whole couplet. *καί* now goes rightly with *μείζονα*.

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VARIA.

GREEK ARGUMENTS, ETC., TO PLAYS OF ARISTOPHANES.

(Quoted according to the order and paging in Bergk's Teubner text.)

ACHARNIANS arg. 1, line 17. εἴτα γενομένου διελκυσμοῦ κατενεχθεὶς ὁ χορὸς ἀπολύει τὸν Δικαιοπόλιν.

For κατενεχθεὶς, which is unmeaning, Blaydes' κατελεγχθεὶς has found favour. But καταλλαχθεὶς reconciled is more suitable and more probable. So too in line 9 of the first argument to the *Knights*, where Cleon (more properly Paphlagon) is described as διενεχθεὶς ἱκανῶς περὶ τοῦ ἀναγωγότερος (vulg. ἀνώτερος: νεανικώτερος?) εἶναι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων, though the editors seem content with διενεχθεὶς, I propose διαλεχθεὶς.

KNIGHTS 1. 1 τὸ δρᾶμα τῶν Ἰππέων ποιεῖται εἰς Κλέωνα.

Read πεποιήται, since the perfect, as in *Clouds* 1. 1 and 10. 1 (τὸ δρᾶμα γέγραπται), *Wasps* 1. 30 and 34 (τὸ δρᾶμα πεποιήται), *Birds* 2. 31 (τὰ ὀνόματα πεποιήται), or aorist is the ordinary tense. The present giving an incident in the play is a different thing.

3. 5 perhaps ὄντ' ἀληθῶς σκατοφάγον. In line 1 we might insert τε before τινά, which more properly it should follow. τινά itself is shown to be right by 2. 6 Κλέων τις βυρσοπώλης.

CLOUDS 4. 1.

πατήρ τὸν υἱὸν σωκρατίζειν βούλεται,
καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ψυχρολογίας διατριβῇ
ἱκανή.

The terminations have, as often, got confused. Read ψυχρολογία διατριβῆς. The construction is ἱκανή ψ. τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν (αὐτὸ?) διατριβῆς.

6. 6 ἐν τῇ τάξει καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν προσώπων διαλλαγῇ μετεσχημάτισται.

'There have been alterations in arrangement and in the change of the characters' is a curious expression. We must not think too much of bad style in these compositions, but it suggests the possibility of διαλέξει for διαλλαγῇ.

10. 12 χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἱκανοῖς, ὡς λόγος, δεξιωσάμενοι. The inappropriate δεξιωσάμενοι is a mistake arising from δεξιό-τατα in the next line. μισθωσάμενοι? οἰκειωσάμενοι?

In line 50 νικηθεὶς must be νικήσας, and in 51 another adverb (εὖ?) coupled with ἱκανῶς has been lost.

WASPS I. 12 ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐπειράτο τὰς ὑποφίας ἐξαιρεῖν τοῦ πράγματος, νουθετῶν τὸν γέροντα.

ὑποφίας should probably be ἀτοπίας.

I. 21 The chorus, οἷ, ὅτε μὲν ἦσαν νέοι, πικρῶς ταῖς δίκαις ἐφήδρευον, ἐπεὶ δὲ γέροντες γεγόνασι, κεντούσι τοῖς κέντροις.

There is something wrong about ταῖς δίκαις ἐφήδρευον, though the Oxford editors stand alone, as far as I know, in perceiving it. Such a statement is not true of the chorus' youth, and therefore Messrs. Hall and Geldart have marked ταῖς δίκαις as corrupt. No doubt that would be one's first thought, but in spite of the chronological error it would be strange if a phrase so suitable to the chorus was a mere mistake. Is it not more likely that the clauses have by some odd accident got interchanged and the tenses adapted accordingly? Without pretending to fix the exact order of words, I suggest ὅτε μὲν ἦσαν νέοι, τοῖς κέντροις ἐκέντουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ γέροντες γεγόνασι, πικρῶς ἐφεδρεύουσι ταῖς δίκαις. The writer is of course referring to part of the parabasis of the play (1075-1121), and it is true that in 1113, πάντα γὰρ κεντούμεν ἄνδρα κάκπορίζομεν βίον, the chorus use κεντούμεν in the present tense of their judicial action. But in 1088 κεντούμενοι is also used of the defeated Persian troops, and all the passage from 1074 to 1090 turns on the use of the sting in war when they were younger. Cf. 1060-1070. ἐφεδρεύω is used not in its older sense but = παρεδρεύω. Cf. Herwerden's *Lexicon*.

The nearest parallel I know to such an interchange of words and terminations is Isaëus II. 21, where τὸν μὲν ἡττᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ νικᾶν is now read for τὸν μὲν νικᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἡττᾶν, there being of course no such form as ἡττᾶν in use. But that interchange is less extensive and remarkable.

2. 3. μὴ λανθάνῃ μηδ' ἐξίγῃ διὰ τὴν νόσον.

Read μηδ' ἐξιώων.

PEACE I. 19 for διασαφεῖ τὰ δέοντα· πάλιν ἀποφαινομένης κ.τ.λ. read διασαφεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει. Cf. *Peace* 704. The next words are very uncertain, perhaps πυνθανομένης πρὸς τούτῳ.

BIRDS 2. I τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας should perhaps be τῆς τ. Ἀ. πόλεως, not τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολίταις (Vitelli), and in τὸ μέγιστον ἦν κλέος αὐτόχθοσι γενέσθαι do we not want γεγενῆσθαι? Cf. (πε)ποίηται above. Then in ἀνετέτραπτο καὶ διωρθοῦτο πάλιν (4-5) we should certainly read διώρθωτο, and a few lines below (9) probably οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτ' ἐξῆν (cf. van Leeuwen).

FROGS I. 7 ὁ μὲν Ξανθίας . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ Χάρωνος οὐκ ἀναληφθεὶς πεζῇ τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ πορεύεται.

As λίμνην is wanting in R and V, τὴν κύκλῳ (i.e. ὁδόν) is sometimes read. But arg. 4. 39 πεζῇ τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ περιπορεύεται seems to give us the real words. In the latter passage (4. 38) read τὴν περὶ Ἀργινούσας οὐκ ἐναυμάχησε ναυμαχίαν, not τῇ . . . ναυμαχία.

GREEK LIVES OF THE TRAGEDIANS.

AESCHYLUS, Part 2. 7 ἃ δὲ μόνον δραματικά should be omitted as a repetition, and αὐτὰ γάρ . . . κύρος ἔχει put after δραματικά καὶ μιμητικά.

SOPHOCLES 7. πολλὰ ἐκαινούργησεν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πρῶτον μὲν καταλύσας τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τοῦ ποιητοῦ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν μικροφωνίαν· πάλαι γὰρ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπεκρίνετο· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς χορευτὰς ποιήσας ἀντὶ ἰβ' ἰε' καὶ τὸν τρίτον ὑποκριτὴν ἐξηῦρεν.

There is no point in αὐτοὺς τοὺς χορευτὰς. It is well known that αὐτός and πρῶτος are liable to be confused. Read therefore πρῶτος μὲν (for πρῶτον μὲν) and πρῶτος δὲ τοὺς χορευτὰς, or possibly ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτός· πρῶτος δὲ κ.τ.λ.: also probably ἐξευρών. It may be observed that Suidas has a similar αὐτός in the short notice of Sophocles, καὶ αὐτὸς (πρῶτος?) ἤρξε τοῦ δράμα πρὸς δρᾶμα ἀγωνίζεσθαι, and that the life of Aeschylus Part 2. 2 says τὸν δὲ τρίτον ὑποκριτὴν αὐτὸς ἐξηῦρεν, ὡς δὲ Δικαίταρχος ὁ Μεσσήνιος, Σοφοκλῆς, where αὐτός has more force but may not be right. On the other hand πρῶτος is used several times in these compositions, e.g. πρῶτος τρισὶν ἐχρήσατο ὑποκριταῖς Suidas on Sophocles.

8 κιθάραν ἀναλαβὼν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ Θαμύριδι ποτε ἐκιθάρισεν.

Welcker μονοδῶ for μόνῳ without much plausibility. But μόνῳ must be wrong, and I conjecture ἐμμελῶς ἐν τῷ Θαμύριδι.

12 τρίτα should be τριτεῖα.

31. κρύπτω τῷδε τάφῳ Σοφοκλῆν πρωτεῖα λαβόντα
τῇ τραγικῇ τέχνῃ σχῆμα τὸ σεμνότατον.

No doubt τῆς τραγικῆς τέχνης. τε for τό? σχήματι σεμνοτάτῳ or -ον? See also my *Aristophanes and Others*, pp. 272-3.

EURIPIDES line 5 ἥσκησε κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν παγκράτιον ἢ πνυγμὴν, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ χρησμὸν λαβόντος ὅτι στεφανηφόρους ἀγῶνας νικήσει.

Evidently ἦ should be καί,¹ and so indeed the parallel passage of Thomas Magister (Westermann, p. 139) actually has.

23 χαριζόμενος αὐτῷ (Archelaus) δρᾶμα ὁμωνύμως ἔγραφε. Read ὁμώνυμον, unless it should be something like ὁμωνύμως <λεγόμενον>.

Just below ἐλέγετο (read λέγεται) βαθὺν πώγωνα θρέψαι.

56 διεσπαράχθη καταβρωθεῖς by dogs. Surely διασπαράχθεις κατεβρώθη. (Thomas Magister has κατεβρώθη without διασπαράχθεις).

¹ I noticed lately another example of this very common confusion in the Προλεγόμενα τῆς Πλάτωνος φιλοσοφίας 12 (C. F. Hermann's *Appendix Platónica* p. 207) μίαν ἐλεγεν τῶν πάντων ἀρχὴν καὶ

οὐ δύο . . . καὶ ταύτην οὐ σῶμα ἀλλ' ἀσώματον, καὶ ἀσώματον <ὄν>? οὐ ζῷον, ἢ (read καὶ) γὰρ ἂν πάντα ἔζων . . . ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔν.

[HERODES] *περὶ πολιτείας*.

I quote this interesting work, now ascribed to the end of 5th century B.C., from Drerup's text (1908).

6 νῦν δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν ἐπιστάμεθα, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον οὐδέποθ' ἡμῖν φίλον ἐσόμενον.

Besides the awkwardness of the clause τὸν ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ., διδασκαλίαν is not a word that can thus be made the direct object of ἐπιστάμεθα. Some participle governing it has been lost, e.g. ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν <λαβόντες>.

10 ἡπίστατο γὰρ ἔλθων ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς μὲν ἐπιχειρήσας οὐδὲν ἂν ἔπραξεν ὧν ἐβούλετο.

ἐλθὼν should follow ἔπραξεν.

13 For τὸν διάλογον read τὸν διαλλάξοντα rather than τὸν διαλλακτὴν.

15 ἐπαγόμεθα τοὺς ἀμνησούντας μισθῷ πείθοντες καὶ φυλασσόμεθα ξένους. ξένοις Beloch. But ξένους, like ἐλθὼν in 10, is out of place. Put it before or after ἐπαγόμεθα.

17 ὅτε (for which τότε and ὁπότε are suggested) should be ὥστε. Hiatus is admissible after a considerable pause.

28 <τοὺς> προσεχομένους δέ.

LESBONAX (ed. Kiehr 1907).

2. 6 ἐλλιπόντων δὲ ἡμῶν τὴν προθυμίαν.

The dative τῇ προθυμίᾳ is probable. The accusative can hardly be right.

2. 9 ἐν τούτῳ ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν ὅσ' <ἂν> τις εὔξαιτο.

3. 1 εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς . . . τοιούτους ἔσεσθαι.

As εἰκὸς seldom, if ever, is followed by a future infinitive, perhaps we should read γενέσθαι. In Plutarch's *Lycurgus* 3 γενέσθαι is now read with certainty for ἔσεσθαι, in πρὶν . . . φανεράν ἔσεσθαι κυοῦσαν, ἐβασίλευεν. In D. Hal. A. R. 8. 67 MSS. vary between ἐσομένης and γενομένης, but there the mistake is probably due to ἐσομένους coming just before.

HERACLITUS: *Quaestiones Homericae* (Oelmann 1910).

§ 5 (end. O. p. 8) πλὴν ὅμως δι' ἐναντίων ἀλλήλοις πραγμάτων τὸ δηλούμενον ἐπείπομεν.

ἐπείπομεν gives some trouble. It stands, I think, for ἐπινοοῦμεν. Cf. the similar use of ἐπινοεῖται at the beginning of 42.

7, p. 11 τοῦτεστιν ὁ ἥλιος ὁ πόρρωθεν ἀφεστὼς . . . ὥρῳν . . . ἐφίσταται.

Some MSS. are said to be without the ὁ before πόρρωθεν. It should be ὅς.

16, p. 24 πέρας γάρ ἐστι τῆς εὐσεβείας ἢ δύσις, ἕως ἀκούοντα καὶ βλέποντα τὸν θεὸν ἐτίμων.

Read ἕως <ῆς>, until which.

31, p. 46 νεμεσηταὶ γὰρ αἱ πολέμων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ῥοπαί.

For the ludicrous νεμεσηταὶ the conjectures νεμεσητικαί and ἀνομοθέτητοι are cited by Oelmann. An initial ἀ has probably been lost after a final α just preceding. As μ is apt to be confused with λ and η with π, we may perhaps conjecture ἀνέλπιστοι.

76, p. 101 πῶς . . . "Ὁμηρος ἐμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Πλάτωνος ἂν ἐκαρτέρησε νόμοις οὕτως ἐναντία καὶ μαχομένη στάσει διφκισμένοις αὐτῷ;

Read διακειμένοις. A man may be said διατίθεσθαι νόμον, the law itself διακείσθαι.

[Hippocrates] περὶ τέχνης (at one time ascribed by Gomperz to Protagoras) 5 οὐ μὲν ὥστε εἰδέναι κ.τ.λ. ἀλλ' ὥστ' ἐπιτύχοιεν κ.τ.λ. ἂν has been inserted, but read the infinitive ἐπιτυχεῖν. In 4 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πῶς οἶόν τ' ἐστι I suggest πῶς καί.

In Phlegon's *Mirabilia* 2 (Westermann's *Paradoxographi*, p. 123, line 15) τοὺς κατὰ γῆν ὑπάρχοντας δεσπότας should be κατὰ γῆς, and 34 (141, 29) μέγεθος δέϊ' ἢν οὐχ οἰοίπερ οἱ γραφόμενοι οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν μικρόν shows the common substitution of οἶος for ὅσος.

In Psellus (*ib.* 143, 5) add ἂν to διαμετρήσειεν, and (144, 25) read προσδιδούς for προδιδούς.

Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 1180. 973 κανὼν ἐστι λόγος ἔντεχνος ἀπευθύνων ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸ καθόλου τὸ διεστραμμένον.

Read ὁμοιότητι. In the following sentence διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων is parallel to it.

Schol. Dionys. (Goettling, Theodosius 58. 31: quoted in Kaibel *Com. Graec. Fragm.* p. 17) ἐστὶ δὲ κωμῳδία μίμησις πράξεως καθαρτικῶν παθημάτων καὶ τοῦ βίου συστατική.

Clearly καθαρτική, like συστατική. Kaibel has just quoted from Tzetzes ἐστὶ κωμῳδία μ. π. . . . καθαρτήριος π., συστ. τ. βίου.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri 6. 130. In the Thucydides *Commentary* col. xvi line 6 τοῖς ἡδέως δια . . . σιν read, not διαιτῶσιν (= διαιτωμένοις) with the editor, but διάγουσιν.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

A POEM ASCRIBED TO AUGUSTUS.

LUDWIG TRAUBE has remarked that 'Einer der sonderbarsten Abschnitte in der von Emil Baehrens rekonstruierten Anthologia latina (*Poeta[e] minores*, vol. iv., Leipzig, 1882) ist der, welcher die Gedichte Römischer Kaiser zusammenfasst, carmen 122-127 (Seite 111 ff.).'¹ Of these six poems he points out that Nos. 125 and 126 are early mediaeval epitaphs,² No. 127, *Hermaphroditus*, is later mediaeval, and that Nos. 123 and 124, which were favourites in the Middle Ages, are improperly ascribed to the Emperor Hadrian. Of the remaining poem, No. 122, he says nothing. It was first printed by Hermann Hagen in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxv, pp. 569 sqq. (1880), from the Berne MS. No. 109, a tenth century MS. of French origin, partly written in Tironian notes. Hagen gives a facsimile of the entry in the MS. which bears the title *Octā. aug.* This is the authority for attributing the poem to Augustus.

As no other MS. of this poem is known, it may be worth while to place on record a trace of acquaintance with it in England at the end of the eleventh century, and possibly earlier. The fifth line

Non semper gaudere licet : fugit hora, iocemur

is quoted, in the curiously corrupted form

Non semper licet gaudere : fugit hora, qua iacemur,

and ascribed apparently to King David,³ in the proem of a charter of King Berhtwulf of Mercia, dated 841, to the monastery of Bredon,⁴ co. Worcester. It has been marked by Kemble as spurious, but the body of it may well be genuine. The text is derived from the chartulary of Worcester, drawn up by the monk Heming by order of Bishop Wulfstan, who died in 1095. The original was at Worcester in 1643,⁵ but it has now disappeared. We are

¹ *O Roma Nobilis* (Abhandlungen der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1 Cl. xix. Bd. ii. Abth., p. 320), which contains his brilliant study of *Hermaphroditus*.

² De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, ii, i, p. 260, and C. I. L. xii. No. 1122.

³ It is introduced by a quotation from Corinthians and 'et iterum sagax sophista "qui quondam Solymis diues regnavit in aruis" katolectico (sic) versu cecinit dicens "Non semper licet gaudere : fugit hora, qua iacemur."' The first line is taken from Aldhelm, 'De Laudibus Virginum' (*Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 182); it occurs *iso*, with a transposition of the second and third words, in his poem 'De aris Beatae Mariae et

Duodecim Apostolis dedicatis' (*ibid.* p. 118). The line, slightly changed, is applied to the 'psalmista' (David) in a Winchester charter of 947 (Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, No. 1157 (v. p. 307); Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 831 (ii. p. 597).

⁴ Kemble, No. 248 (ii. p. 12); Birch, No. 434 (ii. p. 9).

⁵ According to Sir William Dugdale's list of early charters at Worcester in Wanley's *Catalogus Librorum Septentrionalium, tam manuscriptorum quam impressorum*, printed in Hickes, *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, Oxford, 1705, iii. p. 800, No. 60.

therefore deprived of any palaeographical means of testing its authenticity. The charter appears without the proem in the fragments in Cottonian MS. Nero E. 1 of an earlier Worcester chartulary,⁶ which are in a hand of *circa* 1000. In this chartulary the texts are usually abridged, and it is therefore impossible to argue from the absence of the proem that it did not exist in the charter used by the compiler of this chartulary, which was probably commenced by the order of St. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, from 961 to 992. Oswald, it is recorded, had been educated at Fleury,⁷ and thus played an important part in the revival of learning in England in the tenth century. It is possible that Oswald may have brought a knowledge of this poem to England from the great Benedictine seat of learning. Oswald is mentioned in a narrative appended to an undated Latin charter preserved by Heming from Wiferd and Alta, his wife,⁸ in which the very same proem, including the verse quotations, occurs. This is suspicious, but it may be due to the copying of Berhtwulf's proem by some post-Conquest clerk, who was making a Latin charter for Wiferd and Alta out of one in Anglo-Saxon, the text having, apart from the proem, the appearance of being such a version. The quotation of verse in Anglo-Saxon charters is exceptionally rare, and the few instances of it are involved in suspicion.

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⁶ Birch, No. 435 (ii. p. 10).

⁷ *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, ed. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, i. p. 413 (Rolls Series).

⁸ Kemble, No. 952 (iv. p. 286); Birch, No. 1007 (iii. p. 207).

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 32. No. 2. 1911.

Horatian Urbanity in Hesiod's Works and Days, E. K. Rand. *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University*, VI, Harry Langford Wilson. *Hiatus in the Accentual Clausulae of Byzantine Greek Prose*, Henry B. Dewing. Reviews. Ridgeway's *Origin of Tragedy*, Basil L. Gildersleeve. Hoskier's *Golden Latin Gospels*, Henry A. Sanders. Buchanan's edition of the *Codex Veronensis* (b), H. C. Hoskier. Brief mention. Editions of Plato's *Symposium* (Schöne's revision of Hug and Bury), Witte's *Singular and Plural*, Shewan's *Lay of Dolon*, Pascal's *Dionysos* (on religion and religious parody in Aristophanes), Gayley's *Classic Myths in English Literature and Art*, and Gudeman's *Imagines Philologorum* (the Editor). Burnam's *Palaeographica Iberica*, H.L.W.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.

(The works mentioned in this Summary are favourably reviewed.)

3 June. C. E. Millerd, *On the Interpretation of Empedocles* (Lortzing). High praise. G. Rudberg, *Kleinere Aristoteles-Fragen*, II (Stadler). H. Lewald, *Zur Personalexekution im Recht der Papyri* (Parsch). G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies* (Peter). A. v. Domaszewski, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiser* (Bauer). J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Gruppe). Good as a record of modern Greek customs and beliefs, not for the conclusions drawn from them.

10 June. *Homers Odyssee, erkl. von K. F. Ameis u. C. Hentze*, II, 1. 9. A. bearb. von P. Cauer (Eberhard). H. F. Müller, *Die Tragödien des Sophokles*. —, *Beiträge zum Verständnis der tragischen Kunst*. 2. A. (Klammer). M. H. Morgan, *Addresses and Essays* (Gudeman). The following, though not favourably reviewed, deserve mention: L. Herbst, *Zu Thukydides VIII*. 2. T. (Hude). K. Hahn, *Demosthenis contiones num re vera in contione habitae sint quaeritur* (Thalheim). O. Schroeder, *Horazens Versmasze* (Maas). There are also communications from E. A. Sonnenschein and H. Lattmann on the *Latin Subjunctive*.

17 June. *Anthologie aus den Lyrikern der Griechen—von E. Buchholz*. III. 5. A. von J. Sitzler (Eberhard). F. Kanngiesser, *Die Flora des Herodot* (Stadler). E. Frohn, *De carmine XXV. Theocriteo quaestiones selectae* (Rannow). *Isidori Etymologiae. Codex Toletanus photographice editus. Praefatus est R. Beer* (Tolkiehn). W. A. Hiedel, *περὶ φύσεως. A study of the conception of Nature among the Pre-Socratics* (Lortzing). F. Ullrich, *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Literaturgattung des Symposion* (Raeder).

24 June. Ch. Werner, *Aristote et l'idéalisme Platonicien* (Apelt). P. Terenti Afri *Hauton Timorumenos*, ed. by F. G. Ballentine (Kauer). A. C. Clark, *The Cursus n*

Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin (Ammon). O. A. Danielsson, *Zu den venetischen und lepontischen Inschriften* (Pedersen).

1 July. W. Rh. Roberts, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On Literature Composition* (Ammon). High praise. *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscripti*. 1. (Weinberger). Fr. Ebert, *Fachausdrücke des griechischen Bauhandwerks*, I. (Köster). H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* IV. 3 (Larfeld).

8 July. Σοφοκλέους δράματα—ἐξ ἑρμηνείας Π. Ν. Παπαγεωργίου. I: Ἡλέκτρα (Wecklein). Much too long, but of some value. Fr. Kluge, *De Platonis Critia* (Raeder). Good on the relation of the Critias to Platon's other works. O. Lang, *Die Catene des Vaticanus gr. 762 analysiert*. —, *Die Catene zum ersten Korintherbrief, kritisch untersucht* (Loeschcke). P. Foucart, *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonèse de Thrace au IV^{me} siècle* (Swoboda). High praise. A. Struck, *Mistra. Eine mittelalterliche Ruinenstadt* (Gerland). *Laelia, A Comedy*. Now first printed by G. C. M. Smith (Nebe).

15 July. G. G. Bertazzi, *Storia genetica dell' idealismo platonico*. III (Hoffmann). L. Pareti, *Intorno al περὶ γῆς δι' Apollodoro* (Klotz). M. Tulli Ciceronis oratio pro M. Caelio. Rec. I. van Wageningen (Nohl). Highly praised; includes a full Latin commentary. S. Auvé, *Augustini opera*. VII, III: *Scriptorum contra Donatistas pars III*. Rec. M. Petschenig (Zycha). Contains valuable indices, including a well-selected Index verborum et elocutionum. 1. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*. 2. C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the study of the Greek dialects—Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*. 3. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae—tertium ed.* F. Solmsen (Schwyzer).

22 July. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, VII ed.* by A. S. Hunt (Schroeder-Fuhr) 'die ganze Publikation musterhaft.' J. Psichari, *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante* (Helbing). R. Philippon, *Horaz' Verhältnis zur Philosophie* (Röhl). W. H. Roscher, *Die Tessarakontaden der Griechen und anderer Völker* (L. Ziehen). G. Kip, *Thessalische Studien* (Weil). *Der obergermanisch-rätische Limes des Römerreichs*. Lief. XXXII (G. Wolff). Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* (Gerland). High praise.

Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen. XLIII. 1911.

M. Hauck, *De Hymnorum Orphicorum aetate*. No arguments as to date can be drawn from metrical usage. Imitations of Homer, Hesiod, lyric, tragic, epic, and Alexandrian poets, also among other late poets of Proclus. This last fact gives us a *terminus ante quem*, and combined with fact that no imitation of poets later than Proclus can be found, points to end of fifth century A.D. as date of Hymns. This is confirmed by character of language. Only 59 seems older than the rest. Hymns probably composed in Asia Minor and for use of devotees.

Classical Philology. Vol. 6. No. 3. 1911.

The Origin of the Realistic Romance among the Romans, Frank Frost Abbott. *Suspected Flaws in Homeric Similes*, A. Shewan. *The Manuscripts of Propertius*, B. L. Ullman. *The Prenuptial Rite in the New Callimachus*, Duane Reed Stuart. *The Latin Confixes -ēdon-, -edno- 'eating'*, Edwin W. Fay. *Concerning the Oratory of Brutus*, Edward J. Filbey. *The Provenance of Jerome's Catalogues of Varro's Works*, G. L. Hendrickson. *Notes and Discussions: Nestor's Son Peisistratos in Homer*, John A. Scott. *Marginalia on Apuleius's Metamorphoses*, Henry W. Prescott. *Notes on Lucretius*, W. A. Merrill. *Emendations of Porphyry de Abstinence*, Paul Shorey. *Notes on two Compounds of figo*, Clara Louise Thompson. *Reviews*.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1911.

10 June. H. Brewer, (i) *Kommodian von Gaza*, (ii) *Die Frage um das Zeitalter Kommodians*, 'shews that Commodian belongs to the fifth century, and thus solves an important problem of early Christian literature' (A. Bigelmair). C. U. Clark, *Ammiani Marcellini quae supersunt*. 'The text shows great improvements' (P. Lehmann). F. Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman* (H. Becker).

17 June. W. Petersen, *Greek diminutives in -iov*. '-iov originally denoted "belonging to," occasionally "descended from"' (H. Meltzer). G. Przychocki, *Die Vatikanischen Handschriften der Briefe des heiligen Gregor von Nazianz* (J. Dräseke). J. Kessler, *Isokrates und die panhellenische Idee* (P. Wendland).

24 June. F. Albers, *Luciani quae fertur Demosthenis laudatio* (Ths. Otto Achelis). F. G. Ballentine, *P. Terenti Afri Hauton timorumenos* (M. Niemeyer).

1 July. E. Capps, *Four plays of Menander*. 'Very few of C.'s conjectures find support in the Cairo Papyrus' (C. Jensen).

8 July. A. E. Taylor, *Varia Socratica*. 'T. maintains that the Socrates of Plato expresses substantially the views of the real Socrates. Even those who disagree with his main contention have much to thank him for' (P. Natorp). A. Nelson, *Die Hippokratische Schrift περὶ φνσῶν* (W. Schonack). B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*. New and enlarged edition, assisted by G. F. Hill, G. Macdonald and W. Wroth. 'Everywhere we recognize improvement and thoroughness' (F. Friedensburg).

15 July. A. L. Smith, *Frederic William Maitland*. 'Makes it clear that M. recognized that the history of law is the history of ideas, that history alone makes law intelligible' (E. Bernatzik). A. Fairbanks, *A Handbook of Greek Religion* (S. Wide). R. C. Kukulka, *Briefe des Jüngerer Plinius* (J. Sölch). G. Billeter, *Die Anschauungen vom Wesen des Griechentums*. 'An historical discussion would have brought out the problems more clearly' (P. Wendland).

22 July. C. Joret, *D'Anse de Vilvoorde et l'hellénisme en France* (P. A. Becker). E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* (F. Hiller v. Gaertringen).

29 July. A. Gercke and E. Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (W. Kroll). J. B. Bury, *The Constitution of the later Roman Empire*. 'Absolutism from Constantine in the fourth century to Manuel Comnenus in the twelfth produced a series of competent rulers, which need not fear comparison with the annals of other States during the Middle Ages' (Willy Strehl).

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 173. III. 1911.

E. F. Bruck, *Die Schenkung auf den Todesfall im griechischen und römischen Recht*. —, *Zur Geschichte der Verfügungen von Todeswegen in altgriechischen Recht* (L. Wenger). B.'s work highly important.

173. VII. 1911.

Von Soden, *Das Lateinische Neue Testament in Apion zur Zeit Cyprians* (P. Corssen). Superior to anything previously produced. A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri VII* (K. Schmidt). Suggestions for new Callimachus fragments etc., e.g. *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* = Eros, cf. Ar. Av. 1731 sqq., *Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ* . . . explained by Call. Artemis. 251 sqq., *ἀνέτως* emended into *ἀνὰ τὴν τὴν ἀνεκάλυψεν*.

Hermes. 46. 2.

R. Laqueur, *Ephorus*, I. *Die Proömien*. Discusses the dissimilarity of Diodorus' introductions in Books I (I^b)-III, and IV-XX, and concludes that of the latter IV-XVI are directly, XVII-XX indirectly modelled on Ephorus. J. L. Heiberg, *Noch einmal die mittelalterliche Ptolemaiosübersetzung*. Supplements author's article in Bd. XLV. 57 sqq. in light of discoveries of Haskins and Lockwood, published in 'Harvard Studies in Classical Philology' XXI 75 sqq. C. Robert, *Archäologische Nachlese*. XX. Die Götter in der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie. Identifies the figures. XXI. Ostia und Portus. Identifies town on sarcophagus in Sala del Meleagro of Vatican as Ostia and male figure as Portus Augusti. A. Philippson, *Zur Geographie der unteren Kaikos-Ebene in Kleinasien*. Criticises Dörpfeld's attempt (in Ath. Mitteil. XXXV. 395-399) to justify Strabo's account of this region on geological grounds. H. Diels, *Hippokratische Forschungen*, II, III. F. Solmsen, *Zeus Thaulios*. Connects Θαύλιος, Θαύλων etc. with Lydian Κανθαύλας (= dog strangler), and δαος (Phrygian for 'wolf'), and derives both groups from root in a meaning 'to strangle.' The Θαυλωνίδαι of Athens derived their name from custom of strangling victims by hanging, attested by coins from Troy (cf. Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion, 514 sqq.), and several passages in literature.

Mnemosyne. 39. 3. 1911.

P. H. Damsté, *Ad Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (continued). Discussions and emendations, from the Valeriani to Carinus. P. H. D., *Ad Minucii Felicis Oct.* 22. 6. Read *trina gerit fulmina*. H. Wagenvoort H. fil., *Hov. Carm.* II. 16. 4. Read *nauta*. S. A. Naber, *Adnotationes criticae ad Appiani Historiam Romanam*. Discussions and emendations, spread over the whole work. J. J. H., *Cic. pro Rosc. Am.* § 136. Read *humilitatem cum amplitudine de dignitate*. J. J. Hartman, *Annotationes criticae ad Plutarchi opera* (continued). Cato (Uticensis), Agis, Cleomenes, the Gracchi, Comp. Ag. et Cleom. et Gracch., Demosthenes, Cicero, Demetrius, Antony, Dio, Brutus, Comp. Dion. et Br., Artaxerxes, Aratus, Galba. J. J. H., *De Ovidio in exilium proficiscente*. How is *Pont.* II. 3. 83 f. (reading *Aethalis Ilva*) to be reconciled with *Tr.* I. 3, where Ovid starts for exile from his own house? J. van Leeuwen J. f., *Homericæ* (continued). The bankruptcy of objective and subjective arguments against the unity of the epics. Phases of the author's own faith: the sudden flash by which he saw that the story of the Iliad belongs not to the ninth year but to quite an early stage of the war: to his new unworldly eyes the epics are not mosaics but poems. Explanations of passages suspected or misunderstood: A 4, 5, the story of Chryseis, A 279-303, 397-400, 421 ff. (the reckoning of time by *νυχθήμερα*, cf. Θ 541 ff.), 592, B 29-33, 50 ff., 73-5, O 679 ff. (Homeric horses and horsemanship), Attic interpolations (B 546 ff., η 80 f.), Γ 121, E 127-32, 355 (*μάχης ἀριστερά* always means the part near the Scamander), 576-9. (To be continued.)

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 27. 5. 1911.

L. Deubner, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der altökischen Religion*. A study of survivals in Roman cults from a time when man felt himself able to interfere in the workings of nature without help from gods or spirits. The ritual stratum can sometimes be distinguished from the later element of worship, as in the Palilia. The Quinquatrus and Armilustrium began as purges of weapons before and after the military season: the Salii came in later. Later features can be detected also in the Equirria and the October horse. Other rituals not originally addressed to gods are the Saturnalia, Divalia, Robigalia, Cerialia, Meditrinalia, Fontinalia, Portunalia, etc. When old rites had lost their meaning, they were connected with gods, a comparatively late invention; and some gods were evolved from acts or words used in the rites. Jupiter Lapis shows a fetish which came to be identified with a god. An

excursus argues that Polybius' account of J. L. confuses the fetials' formula of alliance with the formula of a private oath. Th. Birt, *Was hat Seneca mit seinen Tragödien gewollt?* The intimate connexion between S. as moralist and S. as dramatist. The aim of his plays is paedagogic; they were warning pictures. Despite his limitation to three speakers, he wrote for recitation (probably *per lectorem*), not for acting, and so could allow violent action 'on the stage'; thus breaking with Greek tradition, and setting a model for later drama. Many lines are stage directions to help the reader; many things that would have been seen on the stage are described; and many events occur which could not have been played. S. the dramatist is above all the author of the *de ira* and *de clementia*, and the tutor of Nero. No play was written before 49; most of them are later than 54; some can be more exactly dated by allusions to contemporary events, and especially by the phases of Nero's career. The ascription of the plays to another S. may be due to the distinction in early Christian libraries between *scriptores ecclesiastici* or *religiosi*, and *s. saeculares*: the former would include his moral writings, but not his plays. The *Phoenissae*, despite the changes of scene, is parts of a single play never completed, of which the outline can be conjecturally restored. F. Kluge, *Aufgabe und Methode der etymologischen Forschung*. The functions and limitations of etymology, especially in respect of borrowed words. Words must be studied chronologically before etymological combinations are attempted. W. Pecz, *Karl Krumbacher und die griechische Philologie*. The domain of Byzantine 'philology,' and its relations to Greek studies, classical, hellenistic, and modern. Reviews of O. Schrader, *Die Indogermanen* (H. Meltzer); G. N. v. Brauchitsch, *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Th. O. Achelis); J. Geffcken, *Kynika und Verwandtes* (W. Capelle); L. Zurlinden, *Gedanken Platons in der deutschen Romantik* (R. Petsch).

27. 6. 1911.

J. Geffcken, *Studien zur griechischen Satire*. An analysis of the elements of satire and self-mockery in Greek literature down to the 3rd century B.C. (to be continued). L. Simon, *Die Spuren einer unbekannten Philippika Ciceros*. From *Phil.* vi. §§ 6, 16 it appears that Cicero delivered in the Senate a speech intermediate in date between our 5th and 6th, on the occasion of the speech put into his mouth by Appian *civ.* iii. 52-3. A.'s mention of the tribune Salvius, who is not named in our Philippics, makes it likely that this speech existed in A.'s time. Arusianus Messius (4th century) cites a 16th and a 17th Philippic. Reviews of R. Freih. v. Lichtenberg, *Haus, Dorf, Stadt* (by F. Koepf); and of *Die Anthropologie und die Klassiker. Sechs Vorlesungen an der Universität Oxford*, übersetzt von J. Hoops (by H. Meltzer).

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1911.

12 June. *Studia Pontica*. III. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie*, publ. par J. G. C. Anderson, Fr. Cumont, H. Grégoire (W. Larfeld). A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Alte orientalische Geschichte*, von H. Zuschlag. 2. Aufl. (A. Šanda). C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Die historische Semiramis und ihre Zeit* (A. Šanda). A. Morgenthaler, *De Catulli codicibus* (B. L. Ullmann).

19 June. O. Braunstein, *Die politische Wirksamkeit der griechischen Frau* (Fr. Cauer). C. Ganzenmüller, *Die Elegie Nux und ihr Verfasser* (Fr. Pfister). R. B. Steele, *Conditional statements in Livy* (H. Blase). R. B. Steele, *Case usage in Livy. I. The genitive* (H. Blase). T. Livi Periochae omnium librorum. *Fragmenta Oxyrhynchii reperta: Julii Obsequentis Prodigiorum liber*, ed. O. Rossbach (Ed. Wolff). *Berliner Klassiker texte*. VI. *Altchristliche Texte*, bearb. von C. Schmidt und W. Schubart (O. Stählin).

26 June. E. Demisch, *Die Schuldenerbfolge im attischen Recht* (Fr. Cauer). L. Moulé, *Études zoologiques et zootechniques dans la littérature et dans l'art. La faune*

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d'Homère (Chr. Harder). A. Schönemann, *De Taciti Germaniae codicibus capita duo* (E. Wolff). H. Brewer, *Die Frage um das Zeitalter Kommodians* (W. Thiele) I.

3 July. E. F. Bruck, *Zur Geschichte der Verfügungen von Todeswegen im altgriechischen Recht* (Fr. Cauer). R. J. Bonner, *Administration of Justice in the age of Homer* (Chr. Harder). K. Conradt, *Die metrische und rhythmische Komposition der Komödien des Aristophanes*. II (K. Löschhorn).

10 July. W. König, *Der Bund der Nesioten*. On the history of the Cyclades and neighbouring islands in the Hellenistic period. G. Rudberg, *Kleinere Aristotelesfragen*, II. On the Greek text from which the Arabian version of the Hist. An. was formed. L. Jalabert, *Epigraphie* (W. Larfeld). P. Sommer, *De Vergiliū Catalepton carminibus capita tria* (A. Körte). R. Ellis, *Professor Birt's edition of the Vergilian Catalepton* (A. Körte). M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, *L'autenticità dell' appendix Vergiliana* (A. Körte).

17 July. K. Lehmann, *Die Schlacht am Granikos* (W. Gemoll). A. Blondeau, *Delos und Delphi* (K. Löschhorn). A. Denecke, *Zur Würdigung des Plautus* (K. Löschhorn). R. Philippson, *Horaz' Verhältnis zur Philosophie* (E. Schweikert). J. Schmaus, *Charakterbilder römischer Kaiser aus der Zeit des Prinzipats* (W. Thiele).

24 July (double number). C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the study of the Greek dialects* (R. Wagner). *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae*, tert. ed. F. Solmsen (R. Wagner). C. W. Botsford, *The Constitution and Politics of the Boeotian League from its origin to the year 387 B.C.* (H. Swoboda). Plutarch, *Biographie der älteren Cato*, herausg. von A. Krajewski (Z. Dembitzer). E. Müller, *De auctoritate et origine exemplorum orationis solutae graecorum quae Priscianus contulit capita selecta* (K. Cybulla). F. Wilhelm, *Die Schrift des Juncus περὶ γήρως und ihr Verhältnis zu Ciceros Cato maior* (K. Löschhorn). E. F. Bruck, *Die Schenkung auf den Todesfall im griechischen und römischen Recht* (E. Grupe). K. Fitzler, *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke im Ptolemäischen und Römischen Ägypten* (A. Wiedemann). H. Wagenvoort, *de Horatii quae dicuntur Odis Romanis* (R. Philippson). E. Hedickii *Studia Bentleiana*. VI. Lucanus *Bentleianus* (K. Löschhorn). P. Siewert, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Petronius* (K. Löschhorn). F. Krohn, *Ad, In und andere Palaeographica* (K. Löschhorn).

7 August. E. Diehl, *Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre antiken Quellen* (R. Helm). W. L. Friedrich, *De Senecae libro qui inscribitur De constantia sapientis* (W. Isleib). G. Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (A. Schulten). A. Taccone, *Il libro I delle Postomeriche di Quinto Smirneo*. Argomento e versione (Ed. Wolff).

14 August (double number). Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Herausg. von G. Wissowa und W. Kroll. 13 Halbband. *Fornax-Glycon* (Fr. Harder). J. Ruppert, *Quaestiones ad historiam dedicationis librorum pertinentes* (H. Mutschmann). A. Gruhn, *Der Schauplatz der Ilias und Odyssee*. 10 Heft. *Aeolus, Lästrygonen, Kirke, Aïdes, Albanien* (C. Rothe). C. Zander, *Eurythmia vel compositio rhythmica prosae antiquae*. I. *Eurythmia Demosthenis* (H. Bornecque). J. Franke, *De militis gloriosi Plautini compositione* (C. Bardt). C. Barbagello, *Lo stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell'impero Romano* (Grupe). G. Tomassetti, *La campagna Romana antica, medioevale e moderna*. Vol. II. (Köhler). O. Schrader, *Die Indogermanen* (A. H.-K.).

28 August. A. W. Verrall, *The Bacchantes of Euripides and other Essays* (R. Wagner). 'Deserves the attention of the learned world in Germany.' Fr. Nassal, *Ästhetisch-rhetorische Beziehungen zwischen Dionysius von Halicarnass und Cicero* (C. Jacoby). M. v. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. II, 1. *Die augustische Zeit*. 3 Aufl. (Fr. Harder).

LANGUAGE.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXVIII. Band, 4-5 Heft. 1911.

K. Brugmann, *Griechische und lateinische Etymologien*: ἔσμος, ἐνιοι, κόσμος, νόσος, ὄννη, stiua, castrare, mittere, populus. Brugmann also contributes an article on fuëre, fuërunt, fuërunt. A. Walde, *Odium und der Betrieb der lateinischen Etymologie*, a discussion of an article by Skutsch in *Glotta* II 230 sqq.

Anzeiger, 2 Heft.

Reviews of Reichelt's *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Thumb's *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache* (second edition), the fourth edition of the *Latin Grammar and Syntax* by Stolz and Schmalz in Müller's *Handbuch*, Ottenjann's *De vocum encliticarum apud Plautum collocatione*.

Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris. XVII. 1.

A. Meillet, *Recherches sur la syntaxe composée de l'arménien* (V). L. Homburger, *Les pronoms de la 1^{re} et 2^e personne des parlers bantous*. E. Boisacq, *Grec. κράνος, κέρασος et congénères*. An examination of the attempt to connect κέρασ, κέρασος, etc., with the Albanian θανε. A. Meillet, *Les formes verbales de l' I. E. *melg 'traire.'* An attempt to connect ἀμέλγω, ἀμέργω and ὁμόργνυμι.

XVII. 2.

G. Ferrand, *Notes de phonétique malgache*. A. Meillet, *Notes iraniennes*. E. Boisacq, *Greek κέλωρ 'fils' et homonymes*. Boisacq holds that the word is a dissimilation of *κερωρ, and is related to κόρFος, κοῦρος, etc. Beuchat et Rivet, *La famille betoya ou tucano*.

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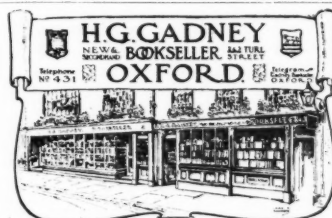
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